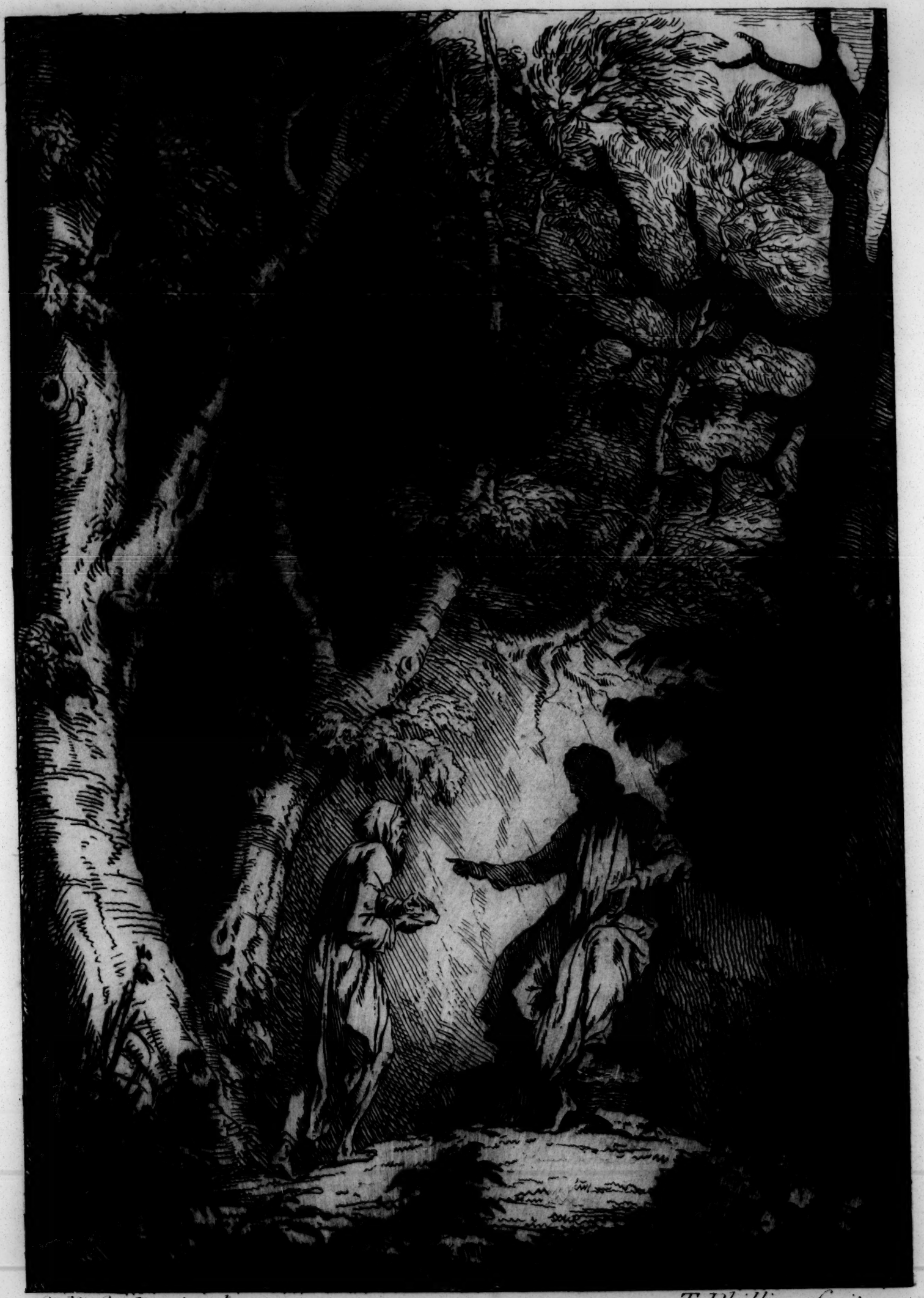


S. Rosa Design.t *T. Phillips fecit.*

PARADISE REGAINED

A Poem

BY

John Milton!

with NOTES of various Authors,

BY

CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A.



De Corte del. *T. Phillips fecit.*

Here nobly penfive, Milton fat & thought.

LONDON

Printed by Geo. Stafford, Crane Court Fleet Street; and Sold by R.H. Evans, Pall Mall; T. Payne, Mews Gate; J. Robson, Bond Street; J. Nicholls, Red Lion Paſsage Fleet Street. — Archer DUBLIN; and Laing EDINBURGH.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE, EARL OF EGREMONT,

THIS EDITION

OF THE

PARADISE REGAINED

IS,

WITH SINCERE RESPECT, REGARD, AND GRATITUDE

INSCRIBED

BY

HIS MUCH OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

CHARLES DUNSTER.

TO THE

EARL OF EGREMONT.

THE theme divine, in CHALFONT's ſheltering bower
Which the immortal Bard eſſay'd to ſing,
Striking with maſter-hand his deep-toned ſtring,
What time the wrath of Heaven's almighty power
It's vengeful ſhafts of peſtilence bad ſhower
On the proud city,—unto thee I bring,
PATRON and FRIEND! from whom the bleſsings ſpring
Of "letter'd eaſe," that wing my heavier hour:
Then, while theſe calm ſequeſter'd ſhades among
I meditate on MILTON's hallow'd page,
In reverence rapt of his high poeſy,
And to each charm of his ſublimer ſong
Would rouſe the attention of a liſtleſs age,
The bold attempt I dedicate to THEE.

CHARLES DUNSTER.

New-Grove,
September 20, 1799.

Printed by JOHN NICHOLS,
Red Lion Paſſage, Fleet Street.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

THE present publication originates in an opinion, (which perhaps begins to prevail,) that the PARADISE REGAINED of our great English poet has never had justice done it either by critics or commentators. As it has been generally and unjustly under-rated, so it has been negligently and scantily illustrated. Bp. Newton, though an excellent scholar, was not, it has been said *, in every respect qualified for an Editor of Milton. His edition of the PARADISE LOST is however an able work; and has been most acceptable to the public. But his edition of our Author's other poems bears evident marks of haste: that of the PARADISE REGAINED in particular is extremely imperfect. Much here remained to be done. Hopes were entertained that the late Mr. Warton, whose eminence in every branch of criticism so peculiarly qualified him for the office, would have undertaken both the PARADISE REGAINED and the SAMSON AGONISTES. But that hope, (it is much to be regretted,) is no more: and, by an

* Preface to Warton's edition of the Juvenile Poems of Milton.

unfortunate

unfortunate accident *, the Editor is precluded from the possibility of benefiting by the collections which Mr. Warton had made for that purpose.

To rescue in some degree from neglect and oblivion, (by more ample illustration than it has hitherto received,) a poem, of which the great Author himself thought so highly, is the object of the present attempt; which, it is hoped, may not be unacceptable, at least to the admirers of Milton. At all events the pains of the Editor have not been without their recompence, in the very great pleasure which he has found from a closer examination of a poem replete with that species of intrinsic beauty, which, though it may not allure and fascinate at the first glance, is certain, when attentively considered, to engage and rivet the admiration.

Of the notes given in Bp. Newton's edition, the greater part are here retained; some are omitted, and some are

* On being informed of this work, Dr. Joseph Warton, with that liberality which generally attends superior attainments in literature, was perfectly disposed to have honoured me with the communication of his own and his late brother's remarks on the *Paradise Regained*. But the interleaved *Milton*, in which they were contained, on the removal of his books and papers from Winchester, was unfortunately lost or mislaid; so that, after the trouble of much search for it, he was prevented from accomplishing his benevolent intentions towards me.—*Interleaved Miltons*, in proportion to their value, seem doomed to unfortunate accidents. That of Mr. Thyer, (the very respectable auxiliary of Bp. Newton in his *Paradise Lost*,) was dropped upon the road by the carrier: and the very able notes, supplied by that gentleman, were furnished only from his recollection of what he had long before written.

considerably

considerably curtailed; the name of the author is always subjoined. Where any thing has been gleaned from the excellent edition of the Juvenile Poems, or from any other printed work, it is generally attributed to the writer from whom the remark is taken: when this is omitted, it is entirely accidental.—The Editor is accountable to but few persons for the favour of assistance. To one gentleman his obligations are indeed so considerable, that it might be difficult for him to state the extent of them with any degree of accuracy; but this is so far from being necessary, that he is not at liberty to mention the name of the friend to whom he is so materially indebted.

THE Reader, when he first casts his eye over the following work, may perhaps incline to think that the citations from Milton's other poems are too abundant; and that many passages, not absolutely material, particularly from the PARADISE LOST, have been transfused into the notes, so as to swell them unnecessarily. It is however hoped that none are given but what have some sort of tendency to illustrate the poem; and that, however they may be numerous, they will, on consideration, be found to have their use. In the excellent OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAERY QUEEN it is justly said, that "to "produce an Author's IMITATIONS OF HIMSELF" is particularly useful in the three following respects: it discovers HIS FAVOURITE IMAGES; it teaches us how VARIOUSLY he expresses

expresses the same thought; and it often EXPLAINS DIFFICULT passages and words.

IT may also be observed respecting this poem, that where we find the poet palpably referring to his greater work, it is either to some passage so eminently beautiful, as well to deserve being pointed out, or to some part, which seemed to look forward to future elucidation. Indeed the PARADISE REGAINED is so necessary a sequel to the PARADISE LOST, that we cannot but imagine that Milton, when he wrote the one, was not without an intention, (though not perhaps of writing the other exactly in the form, in which we now see it,) of producing something of the kind for the purpose of completing his subject. Accordingly the two poems mutually coincide with, and admirably illustrate, each other; while they comprehend the WHOLE of an argument the most interesting that can be to human beings,—to FALLEN and REDEEMED creatures.

THE

THE reception, which this edition of Milton's PARADISE REGAINED has found from many perſons of diſtinguiſhed taſte and literature, far exceeded my moſt ſanguine expectations; and, I muſt acknowledge, has been highly gratifying to me.—It has alſo procured me ſome valuable and very obliging communications tending to illuſtrate the poem.—— On the firſt appearance of this work, rather more than four years ago, a much-reſpected friend ſent me a valuable *proof* print of the TEMPTATION, by Salvator Roſa; which furniſhed the frontiſpiece now prefixed.—In the courſe of laſt ſummer a gentleman, of much taſte in the *belles lettres* and elegant arts, ſuggeſted to me, as an ornament highly appropriate to this edition, *a view of the houſe, at Chalfont St. Giles in Buckinghamſhire*, where Milton reſided in the year 1665, while the plague was in London; and where he conceived and compoſed this poem. An old friend in that neighbourhood procured me two accurate ſketches of the premiſes, and ſent me in the kindeſt manner an exact account of their preſent ſtate. Mr. De Corte had alſo the goodneſs to oblige me with the uſe of two admirable drawings, from his peculiarly neat and accurate pencil, made by him on the ſpot: from one of which the ſketch in the title-page is taken.

THE plates are from the hand of a young and riſing artiſt, whoſe friendſhip I am particularly bound to acknowledge; as it has led him, upon this occaſion, to deviate from the immediate line of that profeſſion, in which he promiſes eminently to diſtinguiſh himſelf.

THE frontiſpiece may ſerve to illuſtrate a remark, in p. 55, that "Milton's deſcription of the Deſert is worthy the pencil of Salvator." It may, indeed, corroborate the obſervations of Mr. Hayley and Mr. Walker *, that "the effuſions of the pencil, which Milton ſurveyed in his travels, had a conſiderable influence on his imagination, and ſerved to enrich his fancy." Salvator was a Neapolitan, and was born between five and ſix years after Milton. At the time when the latter was at Naples, the former was in his 25th or 26th year; and had then probably acquired his laſt inſtructions in painting, in the ſchool of Spagnoletto, in that city. But he had before given many proofs of his eminent talents in deſign; ſome of which were on ſcriptural ſubjects. By a moſt ſpirited drawing, and an hiſtorical painting of Hagar and Iſhmael, which accidentally fell into the hands of Lanfranc, he recommended himſelf to the favour and protection of that ſcientific artiſt, by whoſe liberal aſſiſtance he was enabled to become a ſtudent under Spagnoletto, and to receive inſtructions from Daniel Falcone, a diſtinguiſhed Neapolitan battle-painter; at a time when, by the death of his father, he was reduced to much diſtreſs, and was obliged to ſupport himſelf by ſelling, at a very low price, the numerous haſty productions of his pencil.—— If we refer to Milton's deſcription of the tempter's firſt interview with our bleſſed Lord, and accurately compare the *manner* in which the poet and painter have treated the ſame ſubject, we cannot but conjecture that the TEMPTATION of the latter muſt have been known to the Poet of PARADISE REGAINED. If this was not the caſe, it is an uncommon inſtance of the coincidence of Genius in the Siſter Arts. Salvator, ſimilarly with the poet, has drawn the Son of God in

> A pathleſs deſert duſk with horrid ſhades, B. 1. ver. 296.

and

> —— with dark ſhades and rocks encompaſs'd round, Ibid. ver. 185.

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* *See* Hayley's LIFE OF MILTON, and Walker's HISTORICAL MEMOIR ON ITALIAN TRAGEDY.

His

His tempter is alſo

——— an aged man in rural weeds,—— Ver. 315.

one of thoſe

Who dwell the wild, conſtrain'd by want—— Ver. 332.

and he ſeems almoſt ready to " drop"

His carcaſe pined with hunger and with drought,—— Ver. 326.

The ſuperior nature of the fallen ſpirit at the ſame time, in a certain degree, breaks through his aſſumed diſguiſe; and his penetrating examination of Chriſt is exactly what the poet attributes to *his* Arch-Fiend,

——————— who firſt WITH CURIOUS EYE
PERUSED him,——————————— Ver. 320.

Our bleſſed Lord is plainly in the act of detecting the impoſtor; and ſeems either to ſay,

For I diſcern thee other than thou ſeem'ſt,—— Ver. 349.

or

Knowing who I am, as I KNOW WHO THOU ART. Ver. 357.

The deſign is certainly maſterly. The ſtory is told with as much accuracy and expreſſion, as the ſcene is drawn with boldneſs and effect. The TEMPTATION of Salvator might well attract the attention and admiration of Milton in ſo high a degree, as from that time to combine in his recollection with the ſubject it repreſented. Indeed, I think it appears palpably that, in the firſt ſcene of the Temptation, the poet has practically availed himſelf of it.

Mr. Warton, in a note in his ſecond edition of Milton's JUVENILIA, (p. xxxii.) ſpeaks of the houſe at Chalfont as the place where " Milton planned or began his PARADISE REGAINED;" ſuppoſing it to have been compoſed or completed after his return to London. But it appears to me, from Elwood's account, and other circumſtances which may be adduced, that he not only conceived and planned the poem at Chalfont, but that he abſolutely compoſed and completed it there.

IT may be ſuppoſed that Milton quitted London in the month of July; at which time the plague began to rage in the moſt alarming manner, and the city was deſerted by all thoſe who had whereelſe to retreat. He had been ſome little time in the country before Elwood was enabled to viſit him. (See *Elwood's Memoirs,* and *Hayley's Life of Milton.)* The firſt time Elwood called upon him at Chalfont, Milton ſhewed him his PARADISE LOST, then completed; deſiring him to take it home with him, and to peruſe it at his leiſure, and to return it to him with his judgement thereupon. At his next viſit the converſation enſued which laid the foundation of PARADISE REGAINED, by the young Quaker ſaying to his friend, " Thou haſt ſaid much here of *Paradiſe Loſt*; but what haſt thou to ſay of *Paradiſe Found?*" To this, ſays Elwood, " he made me no anſwer, but SAT SOME TIME IN A MUSE: then brake off the diſcourſe, and fell on another ſubject." Here we are completely enabled to aſcertain the poet's primary and fervid conception of the ſubject; and we may well image to ourſelves his mental eye in a fine phrenzy rolling, and taking in at once the great outline of his embryo idea, during the " ſome-time muſe," deſcribed with ſo much *naiveté* by Elwood.—We may ſuppoſe that Milton remained at Chalfont till towards the ſpring of 1666; as it is ſaid he did not return

to London until "the ſickneſs was over, and the city was well cleanſed, and become ſafely habitable."—Elwood proceeds to inform us, that "when he waited on him afterwards in London, which "he ſeldom failed to do when his occaſions led him thither," Milton ſhewed him his ſecond poem; and "in a pleaſant tone," (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) ſaid to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the queſtion you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of." It ſeems therefore nearly certain, that the WHOLE of the poem was compoſed at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervor, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in "with eager thought." This was the characteriſtic of Milton in compoſition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodate, (September 2, 1637,) where he deſcribes his own temper to be marked with an eagerneſs to finiſh whatever he had begun;—"meum ſic eſt ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme illius rei cura, aut cogitatio diſtineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, et grandem aliquam ſtudiorum meorum quaſi periodum conficiam." EPIST. FAMILIAR. vi. ——There is alſo ſuch a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of this ſecond poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one ſeaſon; and, as I would ſuppoſe, the *excluſive* occupation of his divine genius during his reſidence in Buckinghamſhire. To have compoſed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given ſo perfectly *con amore*, that I am confident, upon thoſe occaſions, he proceeded *at a very different rate*.——That the PARADISE REGAINED was not publiſhed till five years after the time when I ſuppoſe it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton conſidered it as not being then finiſhed: and yet many other reaſons might be aſſigned for its not being printed ſooner. PARADISE LOST, we know, was finiſhed at leaſt two years before it was printed; and it was not till a year after Milton's return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simons for the copy of it was ſigned, and the firſt purchaſe money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the ſecond five pounds two years after; the ſtipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then ſold. The author probably did not think of going again to the preſs with his *ſecond* poem, till he ſaw the requiſite ſale of the *firſt* accompliſhed. PARADISE REGAINED might alſo wait for the completion of its companion, the SAMSON;—a work, which furniſhes ſome internal proofs of its having been compoſed at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licenſed, and were printed the year following. In 1670 was printed his Hiſtory of England: ſo that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the ſpring 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his Paradiſe Regained and Samſon Agoniſtes in July 1670.—That he might reviſe and correct his brief epic previous to this, is very poſſible: but that it was compoſed in its firſt form at Chalfont, I think cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little manſion there with no ſmall degree of veneration, as being excluſively the *incunabula* of Milton's PARADISE REGAINED. I ſhould approach it as a Tibur or a Tuſculum; and ſhould feel myſelf on claſſic ground.

Mr. Warton has obſerved (ſee note in his Milton, p. xxxii.) that "the houſe at Chalfont is ſtill ſtanding; ſmall, but pleaſantly ſituated:" which latter circumſtance is however not ſo. The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleaſant; but the immediate ſpot is as little picturеſque or pleaſing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the houſe, a graſs field riſes ſo abruptly as completely to exclude all proſpect: and the common road of the village paſſes by the gable end, adjoining to which is the end of a ſmall dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton. The manſion, dignified with having been his temporary reſidence, is thirty-five feet long in front. It conſiſts at preſent of a kitchen and parlour; beſides a little porch, once the entrance, but the door of which is now made up. The parlour, which is on the right hand as you enter, is nearly fourteen feet ſquare, and only between ſix and ſeven feet in height; and over it is a bed-chamber, in which the

poet

poet is ſuppoſed to have ſlept. Over the little porch is a ſmall, rather projecting, cloſet, which the preſent inhabitant of the houſe ſhews, as having been the ſtudy of a great man, — ONE MISTER MILTON. The whole of this part of the building, from the ground to the tiling, is barely fourteen feet high. The houſe fronts nearly ſouth-weſt. All the premiſes, including garden and potatoe-ground, do not exceed three roods of land.—Very little alteration appears to have been made in the houſe ſince Milton's time; only it ſeems as if it then conſiſted of two parlours, and that what is now a ſmall ſeparate tenement, was then a kitchen adjoining. The oldeſt inhabitant of the pariſh, a very intelligent man now in his eightieth year, does not remember, nor has ever heard of, any alteration being made in the houſe; which is the property of Mr. John Anthony, a ſubſtantial yeoman of that country, who purchaſed the premiſes ſome years ago. —— Under the window over the porch, are the arms of *Fleetwood*. A branch of the baronet's family of that name was ſeated at the Vache, in the pariſh of Chalfont St. Giles, in the middle of the ſixteenth century. In the 6th of Elizabeth, Thomas Fleetwood, Eſq. of the Vache, was ſheriff of Bedfordſhire and Buckinghamſhire; and, in the 32d of the ſame reign, George Fleetwood, Eſq. of the Vache, was ſheriff of Buckinghamſhire: which George Fleetwood, who was afterwards knighted, had a numerous iſſue, and his *ſeventh* ſon, James, was made Biſhop of Worceſter after the Reſtoration. It ſeems therefore probable, that the houſe, which Milton inhabited, was built by one of this family, towards the middle of the ſeventeenth century. —Sir William Fleetwood, who ſettled at Miſſenden Abbey in the ſame county, eight miles from Chalfont, towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century, deſcended from a younger branch of the ſame family. —— Milton's biographers mention, that at the latter part of his life, "in warm ſunny weather, he was habituated to ſit at the door of his houſe; and there, as well as in his room, received the viſits of perſons of diſtinguiſhed parts as well as quality." They tell us alſo, that at times "he was led out into the fields, for the benefit of freſh air." Subject, as he was, to head-ach, freſh air was perhaps frequently neceſſary to him: and it may be obſerved, that the ſummer of 1665 is recorded by Dr. Baynard, a phyſician who wrote on the plague, to have been diſtinguiſhed by "ſuch a general calm and ſerenity of weather, as if both wind and rain had been expelled the kingdom; ſo that for many weeks together he could not diſcover a breath of wind." (See Maitland's HISTORY OF LONDON, p. 288.) — So that, if we conſider Milton's own habits, the ſeaſon of the year when he went to Chalfont, and the peculiar cloſeneſs of the atmoſphere at that time, together with the lowneſs of his rooms, we may fancy him ſitting much, (like Adam at the door of his bower,) in the old porch or entrance; and we may ſuppoſe that this particular ſpot was probably the immediate ſcene of his converſation with Elwood, and the place where he not unfrequently meditated his ſecond divine poem.—In contemplating therefore the little manſion at Chalfont St. Giles, I cannot but view its old porch with a certain degree of that enthuſiaſtic reverence, with which Cicero (DE FIN. L. v. C. 1.) makes Atticus deſcribe himſelf as having viſited the houſe where Pythagoras died at Metapontum, and the ſeat in which he was there accuſtomed to ſit.——For the minute tedioufneſs of this note ſome excuſe ſhould be made;—let the Roman Orator be my advocate, and the ſentiments, attributed by him to his accompliſhed friend, my apology! — "Movemur neſcio quo pacto locis ipſis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adſunt veſtigia. Me quidem illæ ipſæ noſtræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis exquiſitiſque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione ſummorum virorum, ubi quiſque HABITARE, ubi SEDERE ſit ſolitus; ——— DE LEGIBUS. L. ii. C. 2.

C. D.

April 12, 1800.

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or the Realm of Bocchus
Peloponesus
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Memphis
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SARMATIA

SCYTHIA ANTIQUA

TAURIC POOL

TAURICK CHERSON.

PONTUS EUXINUS

Iberia

ARMENIA

CASPIAN SEA or LAKE

LAKE ARAL

Sogdiana

Scy

Bactriana

MARGIANA

Bactra

Parthia

HIRCANIA

Ariana

CANDAOR

ARACHOSIA

Indus R.

Artaxata

Araxes R.

Niphates M.

Abus M.

ATROPATIA

R. Cyzan

Habor

Caucasus

Hecatompylos

Ecbatana

SIA MINOR

Taurus M.

Masius M.

Amanus M.

Antioch

Nisibis

Nineveh

MESOPOTAMIA

ASSYRIA

ADIABENE

Tigris R.

Euphrates

Seleucia

Ctesiphon

Babylon

R.

MEDIA

PERSIA

Susiana

Susa

Choaspes R.

Persepolis

Balsara

Teredon

Persian Gulph or Bay

Balsaras haven

Cyprus

E A

Lake of Genezaret

Bethel

Jericho

JERUSALEM

Bethlehem

PALESTINE

The Arabian Drouth or Desert

Memphis

EGYPT

Nile River

Syene

RED SEA

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Published according to Act of Parliament 9th. March 1795. by Revd. C. Dunster.

MAP of PLACES
mentioned in the
PARADISE REGAINED,
chiefly from
Orbis veteribus notus,
or
M.D'Anville.

SCYTHIA

Bactriana

Bactra

CANDAOR

ARACHOSIA

INDIA

Indus R.

ARABIAN GULF

TAPROBANE

GOLDEN CHERSONESE

90° 95° 100° 105° 110° 115° 120°

35° 30° 25° 20° 15° 10° 5° 0°

85° 90° 95° 100° 105° 110° 115° 120°

THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully try'd

PARADISE REGAINED.]

" Of *Paradise Regained*," says Johnson in his Life of Milton, " the general judgment seems now " to be right; that it is in many parts elegant, and " every where instructive." But surely this Poem has merits far superior to " occasional elegance," and " general instruction;" and that this is really the case is sufficiently implied in the immediately succeeding sentence, where it is justly observed, that " it was not to be supposed, that the author " of *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great " effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of " wisdom."

" The basis of *Paradise Regained*," says the same eminent biographer of our English poets, " is narrow; a dialogue without action can never " please like an union of the narrative and dra- " matic powers."——Bentley also, in a note on Paradise Lost, B. x. 182. observes, that " Milton, " when he wrote *that* passage, thought *Paradise* " was chiefly *regained* at our Saviour's resurrection. " This," continues he, " would have been a copious " and sublime subject for a second poem. The " wonders then to be described would have erected " even an ordinary poet's genius; and in episodes " he might have introduced his conception, birth, " miracles, and all the history of his administra- " tion while on earth. And I much grieve, that " instead of this, he should choose for the argu- " ment of his Paradise Regained the fourth chap- " ter of Luke, *the temptation in the wilderness*; " a dry, barren, and narrow ground to build an " epic poem on. In that work he has amplified " his scanty materials to a surprizing dignity; " but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, " without the expected applause."

Bp. Newton, in his Life of Milton, speaking of this Poem, says, " Certainly it is very worthy of " the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland " relates, Milton may be seen in Paradise Re- " gained as well as in Paradise Lost; if it is in- " ferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not " superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it " is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes " rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; " and it has not met with the approbation it de- " serves, only because it has not been more read " and considered. His subject indeed is confined,

Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd
In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,
And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness. 5

" and he has a narrow foundation to build upon;
" but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as
" such little room and such scanty materials would
" allow."

Mr. Thyer, in the concluding part of a note on the opening of the second book of this poem, likewise remarks the barrenness of the subject. " If," says he, " the Paradise Regained is inferior, as
" indeed I think it must be allowed to be, to the
" Paradise Lost, it cannot be justly imputed, as
" some would have it, to any decay of Milton's
" genius, but to his being cramped down by a
" barren and contracted subject."—Bishop War-
" burton also pronounces the *plan* to be " a very
" unhappy and defective one."—But none of these learned critics seem to have considered what we may collect from our author himself; that he designed this poem for, what he terms, *the brief epic*, which he particularly distinguishes from the *great and diffuse epic*, of which kind are the great poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own Paradise Lost. In the introduction to the second book of his *Reason of Church-Government*, he says, " Time
" serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too
" profuse, to give any certain account of what the
" mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her
" musing, hath liberty to propose to herself,
" though of highest hope and hardest attempting;
" whether that epic form, whereof the two poems
" of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and
" Tasso, are a DIFFUSE, and the book of Job a
" BRIEF model: or whether the rules of Aristotle
" herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be
" followed, which, in them that know art, and use
" judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching
" of art."—His model then we may suppose to have been in a great measure the book of Job; and however the subject which he selected may have been considered as narrow ground, and one that cramped his genius, there is no reason to imagine that it was chosen hastily or inconsiderately. It was particularly adapted to the species of poem he meant to produce, namely, the *brief*, or *didactic*, epic. The basis he thought perfectly adequate to the superstructure which he meant to raise; to the merit of which the lapse of time bears the material testimony of a gradually increasing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to add the opinion of a gentleman, whose judgment must have the greatest weight, if to have excelled eminently in poetry is, (as it should be supposed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. " Milton," says Mr. Hayley, " had already executed one ex-
" tensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by
" richness and sublimity of description: in framing
" a second he naturally wished to vary its effect;
" to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime
" in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that
" man can learn; for this purpose it was necessary
" to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due
" subordination to the precept. This delicate and
" difficult point is accomplished with such felicity;
" they are blended together with such exquisite
" harmony and mutual aid, that, instead of arraign-
" ing the plan, we might rather doubt if any pos-
" sible change could improve it. Assuredly there
" is no poem of an epic form, where the sublimest
" moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to
" poetical delight: the splendor of the poet does
" not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger pro-
" duction; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid,
" softening his glory in speaking to his son, and
" avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend
" into the heart." Hayley's LIFE OF MILTON, prefixed to the new folio edition of Milton's POETICAL WORKS, by Boydell and Nicoll, p. 126.

The same biographer, in another place, having spoken of the " uncommon energy of thought and
" felicity of composition apparent in Milton's two
" poems, however different in design, dimension,
" and

THOU Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the desert, his victorious field,

" and effect," adds, " To censure the PARADISE " REGAINED, because it does not more resemble " the PARADISE LOST, is hardly less absurd, than " it would be to condemn the Moon for not being " a Sun, instead of admiring the two different " luminaries, and feeling that both the greater and " the less are equally the work of the same divine " and inimitable power." p. 104.

1. *I, who ere while the happy garden sung*
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind.]

This is plainly an allusion to the ILLE EGO QUI QUONDAM, &c. attributed to Virgil.

Thus also Spenser:

Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
Am now enforc'd a far unfitter task,
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c.

Newton.

2. *By one man's disobedience, &c.*—]

The opposition of *one man's disobedience* in this verse to *one man's obedience* in verse 4. is somewhat in the stile and manner of St. Paul, Rom. v. 19. *For as by* ONE MAN'S DISOBEDIENCE *many were made sinners; so by* THE OBEDIENCE OF ONE *shall many be made righteous.* *Newton.*

The argument of Paradise Lost was

——— MAN'S first DISOBEDIENCE———

3. *Recover'd Paradise*—]

It may seem a little odd, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c. But the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, *regained* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, *lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing spirit. Besides he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his Paradise Lost he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest *an age too late, or cold climate, or years, should have damp'd his intended wing;* and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. *Thyer.*

7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*]

There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam,—*Cursed is the ground for thy sake—Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.* *Thyer.*

Thus in the FOURTH Book of this poem, Ver. 523.;

And follow'd thee still on to this WASTE WILD.

Waste is an epithet which our author had annexed to *wilderness* at an early period of his life. In his *translation* of the cxxxvith *Psalm*, written when he was only fifteen, he has

His chosen people he did bless
In the WASTEFUL wilderness.

In that instance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phrase from his favorite Spenser:

Far hence (quoth he) IN WASTEFUL WILDERNESS
His dwelling is——

FAERY QUEEN, B. i. c. 1. 32.

But the expression and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a passage in Isaiah. C. li. 3.

" The Lord shall comfort Zion, he will com-
" fort all her WASTE PLACES, and he will make
" her WILDERNESS LIKE EDEN, and her DESERT
" LIKE THE GARDEN OF THE LORD."

From whence Pope also, in his ELOISA TO ABELARD,

You rais'd these hallow'd walls, the desert smil'd,
And PARADISE WAS OPEN'D IN THE WILD.

133.

Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,

8. *Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite*
Into the desert, his victorious field, &c.]

This invocation is so supremely beautiful, that it is hardly possible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the Paradise Lost. This has the merit of more conciseness. Diffuseness may be considered as lessening the dignity of invocations on such subjects.

8. ——— *who ledst this glorious eremite*
Into the desert,—]

It is said, Mat. iv. 1. *Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil.* And from the Greek original ερημω the desert, and ερημιτης an inhabitant of the desert, is rightly formed the word *eremite;* which was used before by Milton in his Paradise Lost, iii. 474.

And by Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso, Cant. 11. St. 4.

And in Italian, as well as in Latin, there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite, hermit.* *Newton.*

11. ——— *inspire,*
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,]

In the very fine opening of the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, Milton thus speaks of *the inspiration of the Muse:*

If answerable still I can obtain
Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation, unimplor'd,
And DICTATES TO ME SLUMBERING, OR INSPIRES
EASY MY UNPREMEDITATED VERSE.

So also in his invocation of *Urania*, at the beginning of the SEVENTH Book.

More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days,
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
And solitude; yet not alone, WHILE THOU
VISIT'ST MY SLUMBERS NIGHTLY, OR WHEN MORN
PURPLES THE EAST; still govern thou my song,
URANIA.———

And in the introduction to the second book of *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelacy*, where he promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country, he adds, "This is not "to be obtained but by devout prayer to that "Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utter-"ance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, "with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and "purify whom he pleases."—Here then we see, that Milton's invocations of the Divine Spirit were not merely *exordia pro formâ.*—Indeed his prose works are not without their invocations.

12. — ——— *my prompted song, else mute,*]

Milton's third wife, who survived him many years, related of him, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter; and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, "he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired "him;" and, being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied, "it was God's grace and "the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly."

Newton's Life of Milton.

Mr. Richardson also says, that "Milton would "sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a "verse could he make; and on a sudden his "poetical fancy would rush upon him with an "*impetus* or *æstrum.*" *Johnson's Life of Milton.*

Else mute might have been suggested by a passage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse;

O testudinis aureæ
Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas!
O MUTIS quoque PISCIBUS
Donatura CYGNI, si libeat, SONUM!

L. iv. Ode 3.

Or

And bear, through heighth or depth of nature's bounds,
With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds
Above heroic, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age;
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.

Or from Quinctilian;——————"ipsam "igitur orandi majestatem, quâ nihil dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et quâ remotâ "MUTA SUNT OMNIA, et luce præsenti et memoriâ posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus." L. xii. 11.

13. *And bear, through heighth or depth of nature's bounds,*]

Possibly in allusion to the expression of St. Paul, "*That ye may be able to comprehend with all "saints, what is the breadth, and length, and "*DEPTH, *and* HEIGHTH." Ephes. iii. 8.

We may compare the following passage of Spenser; which is much in Milton's own style.

Who now shall give unto me words and sound
Equal unto this haughty enterprise?
Or who shall lend me WINGS, WITH WHICH FROM GROUND
MY LOWLY VERSE MAY LOFTILY ARISE,
AND LIFT ITSELF UNTO THE HIGHEST SKIES?
More ample spirit, than hitherto was wont,
Here needs me.——

FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. x. 1.

14. *With prosperous wing full summ'd,—*]

We have the like expression in Paradise Lost, vii. 421.

They SUMM'D their pens——

and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the *sum* of his feathers, *cui nihil de* SUMMA *pennarum deest*, as Skinner says. *Newton.*

The *prosperous wing full summ'd*, on which the poet is borne through "*heighth and depth of na-* "*ture's bounds*," resembles Horace's

Non usitatâ, NEC TENUI FERAR
Pennâ, biformis per liquidum æthera
Vates; NEQUE IN TERRIS MORABOR
LONGIUS.——

L. ii. ODE 20.

14. —————————— *of deeds*
Above heroic,—]

Alluding, perhaps, in the turn of expression, to the first verse of Lucan,

BELLA per Emathios PLUSQUAM CIVIBIA campos,
Jusque datum sceleri canimus.

Thyer.

Milton, in the opening of his NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, notices warlike atchievements as at that time the only subjects of *heroic song*;

Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deem'd — — — — —
— — — — THE BETTER fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
UNSUNG.————————

16. *And unrecorded left through many an age:*
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.]

Milton, in one of his early poems, particularly notices Vida's CHRISTIAD, and specifies the *temptations* of Christ as making a material part of the subject.—Vida was a native of Cremona; of which place he was also elected bishop.

These latent scenes confine my roving verse,
To this horizon is my Phœbus bound;
His god-like acts, and his TEMPTATIONS fierce,
And former sufferings other where are found;
Loud o'er the rest CREMONA's trump doth sound;
Me softer airs befit.——

ODE ON THE PASSION. St. 4.

It is true TEMPTATIONS here seem only to mean trials; but of these the *temptation in the wilderness* certainly made a part.——Vida's description of the *Temptation* is very short.

NOW

Now had the great Proclamer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cry'd
Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptiz'd: to his great baptism flock'd
With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd
To the flood Jordan; came, as then obscure,
Unmark'd, unknown; but him the Baptist soon
Descry'd, divinely warn'd, and witness bore
As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
To him his heavenly office, nor was long
His witness unconfirm'd: on him baptiz'd

18. ——————————— *with a voice*
More awful than the sound of trumpet,—]

Lift up THY VOICE LIKE A TRUMPET, *and shew my people their transgressions.* Isaiah, lviii. 1.

For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the SOUND OF A TRUMPET, *and the* VOICE OF WORDS; *which voice they that heard intreated that the word should not be spoken unto them any more.* Hebrews, xii. 18, 19.

20. *Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand]*

In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, REPENT YE; FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND. Mat. iii. 1. 2.

21. ——————— *to his great baptism flock'd*
With awe the regions round,—]

Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all THE REGION ROUND ABOUT JORDAN. Mat. iii. 5.

25. ——————— *but him the Baptist soon*
Descry'd, divinely warn'd,—]

John the Baptist had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him. *And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.* John, i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghost descended upon him. Mat. iii. 14. *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?* To account for which we must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom we had such notice before. *Newton.*

26. ——— *divinely warn'd,—]*

To comprehend the propriety of this word *divinely*, the reader must have his eye upon the Latin DIVINITUS, *from Heaven*, since the word *divinely* in our language scarce ever comes up to this meaning. Milton uses it in much the same sense in PARADISE LOST, vii. 500.

She heard me thus, and though DIVINELY brought.

Thyer.

Heaven

Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
About the world, at that assembly fam'd
Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man, to whom
Such high attest was given, a while survey'd
With wonder, then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
A gloomy consistory; and them amidst,
With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake.

33. ——— *the Adversary,*—]

Satan is frequently thus styled in the PARADISE LOST. See, iii. 156.—vi. 281.—and, ix. 947.—Satan, in Hebrew, signifies *the Adversary*. Hence PARADISE LOST, i. 81.;

—— To whom the Arch-enemy,
And THENCE in Heaven call'd SATAN,———

33. ——————— *who, roving still*
About the world,—]

And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, FROM GOING TO AND FRO IN THE EARTH, AND FROM WALKING UP AND DOWN IN IT. Job. i. 7. ——YOUR ADVERSARY THE DEVIL, *as a roaring lion,* WALKETH ABOUT, *seeking whom he may devour.* 1. Peter, v. 8.

41. *Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,*]

Milton, in making Satan's residence to be *in mid air, within thick cloud and dark,* seems to have St. Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c. says—" ad " ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aerem, tanquam " ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus, &c." Enarr. in Ps. 148. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened.

Thyer.

But Milton, in his PARADISE LOST, places the Deity also " amidst thick clouds and dark," taking his idea from the sublime descriptions in the Psalms;

" *He made* DARKNESS *his secret place; his pavi-*
" *lion round about him were* DARK WATERS, *and*
" THICK CLOUDS *of the skies.*" Psalm xviii. 11.

" CLOUDS AND DARKNESS *are round about*
" *him.*" Psalm xcviii. 2.

——————— How oft amidst
THICK CLOUDS AND DARK does Heaven's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne!——

PARADISE LOST, ii. 263.

42. *A gloomy consistory;*—]

This

O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,
(For much more willingly I mention air, 45

This is in imitation of Virgil, Æn. iii. 677.;

Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo
Ætneos fratres, cœlo capita alta ferentes,
CONCILIUM HORRENDUM.

By the word *consistory*, I suppose Milton intends to glance at the meeting of the Pope and Cardinals so named, or perhaps at the episcopal tribunal, to all which sorts of courts or assemblies he was an avowed enemy. The phrase *concilium horrendum* Vida makes use of upon a like occasion of assembling the infernal powers. CHRIST. Lib. 1.;

Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres
Limina CONCILIUM HORRENDUM.

And Tasso also, in the very same manner; Cant. iv. St. 2.

Che sia commanda il popol suo raccolto
(CONCILIO HORRENDO) entro la regia soglia.
Thyer.

Gloomy consistory is similar to the description of the same infernal council in the PARADISE LOST, where Milton terms them a *dark divan*;

Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
Rais'd from their DARK DIVAN,——

x 457.

44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*]

So the devil is called in scripture *the prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2. and evil spirits are termed the *rulers of the darkness of this world*. Eph. vi. 12. Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the PARADISE LOST: but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker. And the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

—— admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be oppos'd.

And afterwards,

—— no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief.

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this. *Newton.*

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers his apprehensions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a sort of commission to act, in prevention of it, as circumstances might require, and as he should judge best. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general designs of the great antagonist of his hero. A council, with a debate of equal length to that in the second Book of the Paradise Lost, would have been totally disproportionate to this *brief epic*; which, from the nature of its subject, already perhaps abounds too much in speeches.—In the second book of this poem, where this infernal council is again assembled, a debate is introduced, which, though short, is very beautiful.

44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*
(For much more willingly I mention air,
This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation,) well ye know &c.]

"Every parenthesis" says Lord Monboddo, "should contain matter of weight; and if it throws "in some passion or feeling, it is so much the better, "because it furnishes the speaker with a proper occasion to vary the tones of his voice, which ought "always to be done in speaking a parenthesis, but is "never more properly done than when some passion "is to be expressed." ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE, Part II. B. iv. 6. This precept is carried too far, when applied to *every* parenthesis; as it excludes entirely the parenthesis of mere explanation, which is often a very necessary figure. But it must be allowed that where a parenthesis, containing "matter of weight and pathos," is introduced in a speech, it has certainly a fine effect; of which this passage of the PARADISE REGAINED is an eminently striking instance.—

"The

This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation,) well ye know
How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd,
In manner at our will, the affairs of earth,
Since Adam and his facil consort Eve
Lost Paradise, deceiv'd by me; though since
With dread attending when that fatal wound

"Ancients," the same writer had just before observed, "were fond of the parenthesis; and particularly Demosthenes. "Milton," he adds, "in this as in other things followed their taste and judgment, thinking he could not vary his composition sufficiently, nor sometimes convey the sense, so forcibly as he could wish, without the use of this figure." —I cannot but express my surprise that this writer, to whom we are indebted for so many judicious criticisms on Milton's style of composition, should never, (in any one instance, I believe,) have cited a single passage from the PARADISE REGAINED. Possibly, like many other learned persons, he is but little acquainted with this poem; which, I conceive, would have furnished him with examples as striking, and as closely applying to many of his remarks on the writings of our author, as any that he has himself selected from the PARADISE LOST. Indeed I cannot help fancying that the general tenour of his observations applies more directly to this second poem than even to the PARADISE LOST; particularly where, having noticed the great skill of the Ancients in composition, he points out Milton as singularly forming his style on their chaste model, and abounding in passages which are "beautiful and sublime, without metaphor or figure, or any thing of what is now called *fine language!*" (See DISSERTATION *On the Composition of the Ancients*, at the end of the SECOND Volume of the ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE.)——If I am right in this supposition; if it should happen to be the fact that the learned critic has, from the consideration of the PARADISE LOST alone, deduced a variety of observations on the excellence of our author's style and composition, which in a particular manner apply to the PARADISE REGAINED;—it seems necessarily to follow that Milton, instead of sinking beneath the allowed perfection of his preceding poem, has in this last work not only continued to write in his usual dignified and classical manner, but has even carried his mode of writing to a higher degree of eminence, so as more strikingly to exemplify the species of excellence attributed to him by the author of the ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE.

45. ——————————— *air,*
This our old conquest,—]
——— —— through the AIR,
The REALM ITSELF OF SATAN LONG USURP'D;
PARADISE LOST, x. 188.

51. ——————— *his facil consort Eve]*
Thus in the PARADISE LOST, IX. 1158.
TOO FACIL then thou didst not much gainsay,
Nay didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
And again, B. IV. 967.
The FACIL gates of Hell too slightly barr'd—

53. ——————— *attending—]*
i. e. *waiting, expecting;* from the French *attendre.*
Or in their pearly shells at ease ATTEND
Moist nutriment———
PARADISE LOST, vii. 407.

Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to him is short;
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound,
(At least if so we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infring'd, our freedom and our being,

——— and patiently ATTEND
My dissolution———

IBID. xi. 551.

Milton frequently makes use of Gallicisms. Thus he has *defend*, in THIS poem, in the sense of *forbid*, from the French *defendre*;

——— no interdict
DEFENDS the touching of these viands pure.—
ii. 370.

And in PARADISE LOST, xi. 86. he terms the forbidden fruit, "that DEFENDED fruit."

53. ——— *when that fatal wound*
Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head.—]

Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between her and thy seed;
HER SEED SHALL BRUISE THY HEAD, thou bruise his heel.

PARADISE LOST, x. 179.

55. ——— *Long the decrees of Heaven*
Delay, for longest time to him is short;]

"This observation, that "the decrees of Heaven "are long delayed," must be understood as being limited to this particular instance; or to its being *sometimes*, not always so. Why any interval should *ever* occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reason is immediately subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and short having in fact no existence to a Being with whom all duration is present. Time to human beings has its stated measurement, and by this Satan had just before estimated it;

How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possess'd, ———

Time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes so quick, that the hour of punishment, however protracted, always comes too soon;

And now, TOO SOON FOR US, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that LONG-THREATEN'D wound.

57. ——— *the circling hours*]

Milton seems fond of this expression to mark the recurrence of times and seasons. In the opening of the SIXTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, he describes the morn

Wak'd by the CIRCLING hours———

And in the SEVENTH Book, Ver. 342. he speaks of the

——— CIRCLING years.

Thus Virgil, GEORGIC. ii. 402.

——— redit labor actus in orbem,
Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.

Κυκλεω *to circle*, as used by the Greek poets, sometimes signifies *to lead the choral dance*.—The *circling hours*, then, are the same "with the hours in dance."

——— universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and THE HOURS IN DANCE,
Led on the eternal spring———

PARADISE LOST, iv. 266.

In

In this fair empire won of earth and air,)
For this ill news I bring, the woman's seed,
Destin'd to this, is late of woman born.
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause;
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
Purified, to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honor as their king: all come,
And he himself among them was baptiz'd,
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt; I saw
The prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds

74. *Purified, to receive him pure,*—]

Alluding to the Scripture expression, 1 John, iii. 3. *And every man that hath this hope in him,* PURIFIETH HIMSELF EVEN AS HE IS PURE.

Newton.

81. ——————— *Heaven above the clouds*
Unfold her crystal doors;—]

Thus Milton, in his Latin poem on the death of Felton, Bp. of Ely, written at the age of seventeen;

Erraticorum siderum per ordines,
Per lacteas vehor plagas,
Velocitatem sæpe miratus novam;
Donec NITENTES AD FORES
Ventum est OLYMPI, ET REGIAM CRYSTALLINAM, et
Stratum smaragdis atrium.

St. Matthew (iii. 16.) says, *the Heavens were* OPENED; St. Mark (i. 10.) that they were *cloven* or *rent*, σχιζομενους. Thus also, Psalm lxxviii. 23. *So he commanded the clouds above, and* OPENED THE DOORS OF HEAVEN.

The Latin and Greek poets describe the Heavens absolutely *opened*, or *burst asunder*.

Unfold her crystal doors; thence on his head
A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)

Thus Virgil, Æn. ix. 20.

—— video MEDIUM DISCEDERE CŒLUM,

where some copies read *discindere;* and Homer, Il. viii. 554.

—— ερανοθεν δ' αρ' ΥΕΡΡΑΓΗ ασπετος αιθηρ.
Il. viii. 558.

Wetstein, on the passage in St. Mark above referred to, cites from *Phlegon* the phrase ΕΣΧΙΣΘΗ Ὁ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ.—Livy, relating the prodigies which preceded Hannibal's entrance into Italy in the second Punic war, mentions a great light that was said to have shone at Falerii from the Heavens, *which appeared to be rent with a great chasm.*—"Faleriis "CŒLUM FINDI visum VELUT MAGNO HIATU; "quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse." L. xxii. C. 1.—Pliny speaks of "CŒLI IPSIUS HIATUS, "quod vocant CHASMA." L. ii. C. 26.—And Seneca says, "Sunt CHASMATA, cum aliquando "CŒLI SPATIUM DISCEDIT, et flammam DE-"HISCENS velut in abdito ostentat." Nat. QUÆST. L. i. C. 14.—See Parkhurst's GREEK LEXICON; Vox, Σχιζω.

83. *A perfect dove descend,—*]

He had expressed it before, Ver. 30. *in likeness of a dove*, agreeably to St. Matthew, *the Spirit of God descending like a dove*, iii. 16. and to St. Mark, *the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*, i. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, iii. 22. the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.
Newton.

The ancient fathers were in general of this opinion; but some of the later commentators consider the ὡσει περιστεραν to relate only to the *manner* of a dove's descending upon any thing, and suppose that the luminous appearance, which issued from the skies, came down upon Christ, and hung hovering over his head, after the manner and motion of a dove. It is difficult however to reconcile this with what is said (Luke, iii. 22.) that "*the Holy* "*Ghost descended* IN A BODILY SHAPE, LIKE A "DOVE." Bp. Pearce indeed understands the words σωματικῳ ειδει not to mean *bodily shape*, but rather *bodily appearance;* for "Luke," says he, "means "by ειδος what John ειδε *saw*, namely, the Holy "Ghost manifesting himself in a bright light or "glory, called by the Jews the *Shechinah*, which "light had a bodily appearance, and descended "upon Jesus after the same manner as a dove de-"scends to the earth."——But nothing can be plainer or more determinate than the expression of St. Luke; and it matters little whether we render σωματικῳ ειδει *bodily shape*, or *bodily appearance*. The question is not whether the Holy Spirit descended in the *real corporeal* form of a dove; but whether it descended *apparently* in the *shape* of a dove, or resembled a dove *only* in its *manner of descending*, and not in its *bodily shape* or *appearance*. It is not easy to understand what Bp. Pearce means by the *Shechinah*, or Divine Light, having a *bodily appearance;* a term which surely cannot be applied to light. A *bodily appearance* must imply somewhat that has, or appears to have, dimensions, and that is, or seems to be, tangible; and the word σωματικῳ seems purposely used in contradistinction to a *spiritual* appearance, such as the light on Mount Sinai and the *Shechinah*. Fire and light, considered as abstracted from burning bodies, have no bodily appearance; and to ascribe any such to them is to pervert both fact and language.

Milton, where he says, from scriptural authority, that "God is Light," (PARADISE LOST, iii. 3.) describes light, not as having the semblance of a body, but as

Bright effluence of bright essence increate.

Vida, like Milton, describes the Holy Ghost descending as a "perfect dove;"

Protinus aurifluo Jordanes gurgite fulsit,
Et superûm vasto intonuit domus alta fragore:
Insuper et cœli claro delapsa columba est
Vertice per purum, candenti argentea pluma
Terga,

And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,
" This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd."
His mother then is mortal, but his sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:
And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:
Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face

Terga, sed auratis circum et rutilantibus alis:
Jamque viam late signans super astitit ambos,
Cœlestique aurâ pendens afflavit utrumque.
Vox simul et magni rubrâ genitoris ab æthrâ
Audita est, natî dulcem testantis amorem.
CHRISTIAD. iv. 214.

86. *His mother then is mortal, but his sire*
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:]

A virgin is his mother, BUT HIS SIRE
THE POWER OF THE MOST HIGH,——
PARADISE LOST, xii. 368.

87. *He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:*]

Obtains is in the sense of *obtineo* in Latin; *to hold, retain,* or *govern.*

89. —————————— *and sore have felt,*
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:]

In reference to the sublime description, in the PARADISE LOST, of the Messiah driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven;

—— Full soon
Among them he arriv'd, IN HIS RIGHT HAND
GRASPING TEN THOUSAND THUNDERS, which he sent
Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropp'd;
O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphims prostrate.
* * * * * * * * * * * *
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven;
The overthrown he rais'd, and, as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd,
DROVE THEM BEFORE HIM THUNDER-STRUCK, pursued
With terrors and with furies, to the bounds
And crystal wall of Heaven, which opening wide
Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd
Into THE WASTEFUL DEEP; the monstrous sight
Struck them with horror backward, but far worse
Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven; ETERNAL WRATH
BURNT AFTER THEM TO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT.
vi. 834.

91. *Who this is we must learn,—*]

Our author favors the opinion of those writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the Devil, though he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God. *Newton.*

It was requisite for the poet to assume this opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poem turns.

92. *In all his lineaments,—*]

Milton, in the FIFTH Book of his PARADISE LOST, describing Raphael, when on his arrival at Paradise, he resumes his own *proper shape* of " a " seraph wing'd," says

—— six wings he wore to shade
HIS LINEAMENTS DIVINE——

The

The glimpses of his father's glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be oppos'd,
(Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven snares,)

93. *The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.*]

Milton, in almost every place of the PARADISE LOST, where the Son of God is mentioned, speaks of him in terms somewhat similar.

——— on his right
THE RADIANT IMAGE OF HIS GLORY sat,
His only Son———
iii. 62.

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, IN HIM ALL HIS FATHER SHONE
Substantially express'd———
138.

Thee next they sang, of all creation first,
Begotten Son, divine similitude,
IN WHOSE CONSPICUOUS COUNTENANCE WITHOUT CLOUD
MADE VISIBLE THE ALMIGHTY FATHER SHINES,
Whom else no creature can behold; ON THEE
IMPRESS'D THE EFFULGENCE OF HIS GLORY ABIDES,
Transfus'd on thee his ample spirit rests.
383.

Son, thou in whom MY GLORY I BEHOLD
In full resplendence———
v. 719.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son, IN WHOSE FACE INVISIBLE IS BEHELD
VISIBLY, WHAT BY DEITY I AM———
vi. 680.

94. ——————— *on the utmost edge*
Of hazard,—]

Bp. Newton says this is borrowed from Shakespeare's ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL, Act III. Scene 3.

We'll strive to bear it, for your worthy sake,
TO THE EXTREME EDGE OF HAZARD;———

It is certainly a strong coincidence of expression. But Milton may be supposed to have had in his mind a passage in Homer: from whom Shakespeare might also have borrowed a metaphor so perfectly Grecian, by the means of his friend Chapman's version.

Νῦν γαρ δη παντεσσιν ΕΠΙ ΞΥΡΟΥ ΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ ΑΚΜΗΣ
Η μαλα λυγρος ολεθρος Αχαιοῖς, ηε βιῶναι.
IL. x. 173.

Each single Greek, in this conclusive strife,
Stands on the sharpest edge of death, or life.
Pope.

For the very frequent use of Επι ξυρῳ ακμης, among the Greek writers, *see* a note of Valckenaer on *Herodotus*, L. vi. C. 11.——And Warton on *Theocritus*, IDYLL. xxii. 6.

Milton has twice used nearly the same expression in his PARADISE LOST;

——— on the perilous EDGE
Of battle, when it rag'd,———
i. 276.

On the rough EDGE of battle, ere it join'd,——
vi. 108.

where I am not a little surprised to find Bp. Newton and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the phrase, without being at all aware that it was so common an expression among the Greeks, as to be quite proverbial. *See* Lucian, JUPIT. TAGŒD. TOM. ii. p. 605. Ed. Reitz.

97. ——— *well-couch'd fraud,*—]

Satan, in the beginning of the FOURTH Book of PARADISE LOST, having, while addressing his fine speech to the Sun, manifested by his furious gestures the violent passions that agitated him, is described as presently assuming a more tranquil appearance, for fear of observation or discovery. The description of this is consistent with the character of fraud and artifice, which this part of his speech here displays; and has some resemblance to it in the expressions. It is said that he

Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the first

That

Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam; and the exploit perform'd
Successfully: a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way, found prosperous once,
Induces best to hope of like success.
HE ended, and his words impression left
Of much amazement to the infernal crew,

That practis'd FALSEHOOD under saintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, COUCH'D with revenge—

97. ——————————— *well woven snares,*]

Thus Virgil, ÆN. vi. 570.;

—— fraus inexa clienti;

And Silius Italicus, iii. 233.;

—— docilis fallendi, et NECTERE TECTOS
ARTE DOLOS;———

100. *I, when no other durst, sole undertook*
The dismal expedition &c.—]

The fear and unwillingness of the other fallen Angels to undertake this dismal expedition, is thus described in the PARADISE LOST;

——— All sat mute,
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others countenance read his own dismay
Astonish'd: none, among the choice and prime
Of those heaven-warring champions, could be found
SO HARDY AS TO PROFFER OR ACCEPT
ALONE THE DREADFUL VOYAGE———
ii. 420.

The speech of Satan, which follows, is supremely excellent. I cannot but figure to myself the poet, conscious of its sublime merit, referring in this place with secret satisfaction to the highly-finished conclusion of it.

But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this imperial sovereignty, adorn'd
With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd,
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more as he above the rest
High-honor'd sits? Go therefore, mighty Powers,
Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell
More tolerable, if there be cure or charm
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad,
Through all the coasts of dark destruction, seek
Deliverance for us all: THIS ENTERPRISE
NONE SHALL PARTAKE WITH ME.
ii. 445.

103. ——— *a calmer voyage now*
Will waft me;]

Thus, in PARADISE LOST, ii. 1041, where Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said the remainder of the journey became so much easier,

That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
WAFTS ON THE CALMER WAVE———

Distracted

Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay
At these sad tidings; but no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief:
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprize
To him, their great dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,

116. —— *Hell's deep vaulted den*—]

In the PARADISE LOST, there are some similar descriptions of Hell. It is termed

—— the FIERY CONCAVE——
ii. 635.

And the Devils are described,

Hovering on wing under THE COPE OF HELL.
i. 345.

And speaking of Satan, when he has raised himself from the burning lake, and moves on the dry land of the infernal regions, it is said,

—— the torrid clime
Smote on him sore besides, VAULTED WITH FIRE.
i. 297.

117. *Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,*
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.]

—— god-like shapes, and forms
Excelling human, princely dignities,
And powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones.
PARADISE LOST, i. 358.

119. —— *to the coast of Jordan*—]

The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, υπεστρεψεν απο τ̃ Ιορδανου, *returned from Jordan.*

Newton.

120. *His easy steps,*—]

In reference, (as Bp. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

—— a calmer voyage now
Shall waft me;——

But *easy steps* seem here also to include an intended contrast with a passage in the FIRST Book of the PARADISE LOST, where, speaking of Satan, it is said,

His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,
Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,
He walk'd with, to support UNEASY STEPS
Over the burning marle.——
291.

120. ———— *girded with snaky wiles,*]

Girded

Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try;
So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy'd:
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd
The purpos'd counsel, pre-ordain'd and fix'd,
Of the most High; who, in full frequence bright
Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Girded with snaky wiles alludes to the habits of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. *Newton.*

But *girded* here seems used only in a metaphorical sense; as in Scripture the Christian, properly armed, is described having his *loins* GIRT *about with truth.* (Ephes. vi. 14.) "*Girded with snaky wiles*" is equivalent to the "*dolis instructus*" of Virgil, ÆN. ii. 152.—Thus also, in the beginning of the THIRD Book of this poem, Satan is described,

At length COLLECTING ALL HIS SERPENT WILES.

128. ——————— *in full frequence*—]

Thus, in the PARADISE LOST, i. 794.;

The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
FREQUENT AND FULL.

And he has the same expression of *full frequence*, in the SECOND Book of this poem, Ver. 130.

129. ——— *thus to Gabriel smiling spake.*]

This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy: accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise: and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. *Newton.*

Tasso speaking of Gabriel, who is the Messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, says

E tra Dio questi e l' anime migliori
Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo:
Giù i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo
Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e 'l zelo.

'Twixt GOD and souls of men that righteous been
Ambassador is he for ever blest;
The just commands of Heaven's eternal King,
'Twixt skies and earth, he up and down doth bring.
Fairfax.

129. ——————— *smiling spake.*]

Smiling is here no casual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, where his "gloomy "consistory" of infernal Peers, it is said,

WITH LOOKS AGHAST AND SAD he thus bespake.

The *benevolent smile* of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, ÆN. i. 254.

GABRIEL, this day by proof thou shalt behold,
Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message, late
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a son,
Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her. This man, born and now up-grown,

Olli SUBRIDENS hominum sator atque Deorum,
VULTU, QUO CŒLUM TEMPESTATESQUE SERENAT.

130. ——— *by proof*—]

This is an allusion to the old trial by combat. The *duel*, or *trial by combat*, is defined by Fleta, "*singularis pugna inter duos* AD PROBANDAM "VERITATEM LITIS, *et qui vicit* PROBASSE *in-* "*telligitur.*"

Thus in the opening of this poem;

——— and brought'st him thence
By PROOF the undoubted Son of God———

131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth*
With man or men's affairs,—]

This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus;

Αγγελοι, ὁισι μεμηλε βροτοις ὡς παντα τελειται.
Newton.

137. *Then told'st her,*—]

Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to obscure and confuse his language considerably.—The sense, which he intends here, is plainly *Thou told'st her* &c.; so that *told'st* is used here as equivalent to the Latin *dixisti*, with its pronominal nominative understood; but which our language positively requires to be expressed, unless where the verb is connected by a conjunction with some other verb dependent on the same pronoun. He has adopted the same mode of writing in other places; particularly Ver. 221, of this Book,

Yet held it more humane, &c.

where the passage is perfectly confused for want of the pronoun *I.*———*See* also Ver. 85 of this Book.

We may in this respect apply to our author what Cicero has said of the ancient orators; "Grandes "erant verbis, crebri sententiis, COMPRESSIONE "RERUM BREVES, ET OB EAM IPSAM CAUSAM "INTERDUM SUBOBSCURI."——BRUTUS, 29. Ed. Proust.

137. *Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be*
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her.—]

Then said Mary unto the Angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?—And the Angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Luke, i. 34, 35.

To

To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan; let him tempt, and now assay
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy: he might have learnt
Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
He now shall know I can produce a man,
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell;
Winning, by conquest, what the first man lost,
By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean
To exercise him in the wilderness;
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,

144. ——————— *because he boasts*
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy:—]

This alludes, says Mr. Thyer, to what Satan said to his companions, Ver. 100.;

I, when no other durst, sole undertook &c.

145. ——————————— *the throng*
Of his apostasy:—]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, ix. 142.;

——— and thinner left THE THRONG
OF HIS ADORERS———

146. *Of his apostasy:—]*

i. e. of his apostates. In the TWELFTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, there is the same figure of speech, where the Angel describes Abraham passing over the Euphrates, followed by

——— a cumbrous train
Of flocks and herds, and numerous SERVITUDE

By humiliation and strong sufferance:
His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,
And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh,
That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose

157. ——————— *the rudiments*
Of his great warfare,—]

Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, BELLIQUE propinqui
DURA RUDIMENTA———
Virg. Æn. xi. 156.

Quod si MILITIÆ jam te, puer inclyte, PRIMÆ
CLARA RUDIMENTA, et castrorum dulce vocaret
Auspicium———
Stat. 5 Sylv. ii. 3.

159. ——— *Sin and Death, the two grand foes,*]

Among the various events described in the TENTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, as consequent to the Fall of Man, a material one is the entrance of SIN and DEATH into this world; the circumstances of which are finely painted.

160. *By humiliation*—]

The Almighty, in the THIRD Book of the PARADISE LOST, says to his Son,

Therefore thy HUMILIATION shall exalt
With thee thy manhood also to his throne.
313.

161. *His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,*]

Thus in the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*, C. i. V. 27. *And God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*

But the proper reference here is more probably to the *second* verse of the *eighth* Psalm. *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; and that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.* This Psalm is considered by commentators as a ψαλμος επινικιος: Bp. Patrick supposes it to have been composed by David after his victory over Goliah, "which," he adds, "was a lively emblem of "Christ's conquest over our great enemy." This latter is clearly the prophetic sense of the verse just cited; which is accordingly referred to as such by our Lord himself, Mat. xxi. 16.

We may compare PARADISE LOST, xii. 567.

162. *And all the world,*—]

I have OVERCOME THE WORLD. John, xvi. 33.

163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,*
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.]

Not a word is said here of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation; and the Angels are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*,

——— inshrin'd
In fleshly tabernacle and human form.

The Father, speaking to his eternal Word, PARADISE LOST, iii. 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith,

——— and hast been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God.

Calton.

This

This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.
So spake the eternal Father, and all Heaven
Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,
Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

168. *So spake the eternal Father, and all Heaven*
Admiring stood a space,—]

We cannot but take notice of the great art of the poet in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summoned; an assembly of Angels is held. Satan is the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surprized with deep dismay; all Heaven stands a while in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hopes of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader. *Newton.*

169. ——————— *then into hymns*
Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,
Circling the throne and singing,—]

Milton, we may suppose, had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original plan of the PARADISE LOST, under a dramatic form, he proposed to introduce a chorus of Angels. The drama seems to have been his favorite species of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: so at least we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed he has frequent allusions to dramatic compositions in all his works. In the second Book of his *Reason of Church-Government against Prelacy*, he terms *the Song of Solomon* "a divine Pastoral drama, consisting of two *persons* and a "double *chorus*:" and he speaks of the *Apocalypse* of St. John, as "the majestic image of a high and "stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling "her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold "chorus of halleluiahs and harping symphonies."

171. *Circling the throne and singing,—]*

Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
ANGELS, for ye behold him, and WITH SONGS
AND CHORAL SYMPHONIES, day without night,
CIRCLE HIS THRONE rejoicing ——
PARADISE LOST, v. 160.

That day, as other solemn days, they spent
IN SONG AND DANCE ABOUT THE SACRED HILL—
IBID. v. 618.

Then shall thy saints unmix'd, and from the impure
Far separate, CIRCLING THY HOLY MOUNT,
UNFEIGNED HALLELUIAHS TO THEE SING,
Hymns of high praise, and I among the chief.
IBID. iv. 742.

171. *Circling the throne and singing, while the hand*
Sung with the voice,—]

If we would see how wonderfully Milton could dilate, or compress, the same thought, we may compare, with this short but masterly passage, the following exquisite lines of his PARADISE LOST.

Then crown'd again their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tuned, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
Of charming symphony they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.
iii. 365.

171. —— *while*

VICTORY and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles! 175

171. ——————— *while the hand*
Sung with the voice,—]

We have nearly the same phrase in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41.;

Sed postquam fuerant DIGITI CUM VOCE LOCUTI,
Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba modo.

The word *hand* is used again in this poem, B. iv. V. 254. to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal;

There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
BY VOICE OR HAND.

Also in the ARCADES, V. 77.;

If my inferior HAND OR VOICE could hit
Inimitable sounds.
Calton.

To the passage above cited by Mr. Calton, from Tibullus, may be added one from Lucretius;

Chordarumque sonos fieri, dulcesque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit DIGITIS pulsata CANENTUM:
iv. 588.

Cano signifies not only *to sing*, but also *to perform on any instrument*. Thus Asconius Pædianus, IN VERREM; "Cum CANUNT citharistæ, utriusque "manus funguntur officio: dextra plectro utitur, "et hoc est FORIS CANERE; sinistra digitis "chordas carpit, et hoc est INTUS CANERE."

174. *Now entering his great duel,*—]

If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton, to make an Angel say in one place

——————— Dream not of their fight
As of a duel———
PARADISE LOST, xii. 386.

and afterwards to make the Angels express it here in the metaphor of a *duel*. *Newton.*

There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word *duel*, that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view.
Thyer.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*.

Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Græcia Barbariæ lento collisa DUELLO. ——
Hor. 1 Epist. ii. 6.

——————— vacuum DUELLIS
Janum Quirini clausit,———
IBID. 4. Ode xiv. 18.

Quæ domi DUELLIQUE fecisti,——
Plaut. ASINAR. Act III. Sc. ii. 13.

But *duel* here is used by our author in its most common acceptation of *single combat;* and *now entering his great duel* means "now entering the lists "to prove, in personal combat with his avowed "antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own "divinity." See note on Ver. 130, of this Book.

In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the *duel* or *trial by combat;*

——————— the tempter FOIL'D,
In all his wiles DEFEATED and REPULS'D.

And in the Invocation,

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the desert, HIS VICTORIOUS FIELD,
Against the spiritual FOE, and brought'st him thence
By PROOF th' undoubted Son of God ———

Indeed the PARADISE REGAINED absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the Arch-enemy of mankind; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the Devil. He thereby attests his own superiority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by *regaining Paradise* for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive.

175. *But to vanquish*—]

Milton

The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd,
Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell,
And, devilish machinations, come to naught!
So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd:
Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,
Musing and much revolving in his breast,
How best the mighty work he might begin

Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere in *triúmph;* and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants. *Jortin.*

175. ——— *by wisdom*—]

This is wisdom in its frequent scriptural sense of *true piety*.

182. *So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd;*
Mean while the Son of God,—]

How nearly does the poet here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in PARADISE LOST on the same occasion, iii. 416.!

THUS THEY IN HEAVEN, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and HYMNING spent.
MEANWHILE upon the firm opacous globe
Of this round world, &c.———

Thyer.

182. ——————— *vigils tun'd:*]

This is a very uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood, unless we suppose, that by *vigils*, the poet means those songs which they sung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their *wakes* in Heaven. And I see no reason why their evening service may not be called *vigils*, as their morning service is called *matins*. *Newton.*

The evening service in the Roman Catholic churches is called *vespers*. There was formerly a nocturnal service called *vigils*, or *nocturns*, which was chanted and accompanied with music.

Ducange explains *vigiliæ* "ipsum officium nocturnum QUOD IN VIGILIIS NOCTURNIS OLIM DECANTABATUR."——The old writers often speak of the *vigiliarum cantica*.

183. ——————— *who yet some days*
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,]

The poet, I presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days together, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is said, Ver. 28. *These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.* *Newton.*

185. ——— *much revolving in his breast,*]

MULTA MOVENS ANIMO——
Virg. ÆN. x. 890.

At pius Æneas per noctem PLURIMA VOLVENS,
ÆN. i. 309.

Of

Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his God-like office now mature,
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
With solitude, till, far from track of men,
Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,

189. *One day walk'd forth alone, the Spirit leading*
And his deep thoughts,—]

In what a fine light does Milton here place that text of Scripture, where it is said that *Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness!* He adheres strictly to the inspired historian, and at the same time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical.

Thyer.

190. ——— *the better to converse*
With solitude,—]

——— wisdom's self
Oft seeks to sweet retir'd solitude.

COMUS. 375.

193. *He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,*
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,]

The wilderness, in which John *preached the gospel*, and where *Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan went out to him and were baptized in Jordan*, we are expressly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1. was *the wilderness of Judea*; which extended from the river Jordan all along the western side of the Asphaltic Lake, or *Dead Sea*. The different parts of this wilderness had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains; thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called the *wildeeness of Ziph*, and, xxiv. 1. *the wilderness of Engaddi*. The word מדבר in scripture, which in our version is rendered wilderness or desert, does not mean a country absolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in the 15th *chapter of Joshua*, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities *in the wilderness*. Of these Engaddi stood nearest to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The *desert*, where Milton, following what could be collected from scripture, now places our Lord, we may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. —— The wildernesses, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, *loca saltuosa et sylvosa*. (See Reland's *Palæstina*, L. 1. C. 56. *de locis incultis et sylvis Palæstinæ*.) About Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks. David is described (1 Sam. xxiii. 29.) dwelling *in strong holds at Engaddi*; and of Saul, when in pursuit of him, (xxiv. 2.) it is said that *he went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats*.

The "bordering desert" then is the rocky uncultivated forest country nearest to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our blessed Lord is accordingly, with the greatest accuracy of description, there represented, as entering

——— now the bordering desert wild,
And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round.

It should be observed, that D'Anville, in the map of Palestine in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the Dead Sea; and on the eastern bank of the river; almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really stood, as Bp. Pearce supposes, (*see his note*

And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
His holy meditations thus pursu'd.
O what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill sorting with my present state compar'd!
When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set

note on John, i. 28.) at the southern end of the river Jordan, on the western bank; and within a little distance of the wilderness, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea.—An opportunity of considering this more fully will occur, towards the beginning of the second book of this Poem.

201. *When I was yet a child, no childish play*
To me was pleasing;—]

How finely and consistently does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour! How different from, and superior to, that superstitious trumpery, which one meets with in the *Evangelium Infantiæ*, and other such apocryphal trash! Vid. Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. Test.

Thyer.

He seems to allude to Callimachus, who says elegantly of young Jupiter, Hymn. in Jov. 56.

Οξυ δ'αναξησας, ταχινοι δε τοι ηλθον ιυλοι.
Αλλ' ετι παιδνῳ εων εφρασσαο παντα τελεια.

Swift was thy growth, and early was thy bloom,
But earlier wisdom crown'd thy infant days.

Jortin.

Henry Stephens's translation of the latter verse is very much to our purpose,

Verum ætate puer, digna es meditatus adulta:

or rather his more paraphrastical translation,

Verum æ'ate puer, puerili haud more solebas
Ludere; sed jam tum tibi seria cuncta placebant,
Digna ætate animus jam tum volvebat adulta.

And Pindar in like manner praises Demophilus. Pyth. Od. iv. 501. χειν῾ῳ γαρ εν παισι νεῳ, εν δε βυλαις πρεσβυς. Our author might allude to these passages, but he certainly did allude to the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. only inverting the thought, *When I was a child, I spake as a child, &c.* *Newton.*

He seems purposely, in this description, to have elevated the character of the *Divine Person* above that of the *inspired* one, of our blessed Lord above that of his Apostle, whose account of his own infantine disposition he certainly had here in his mind.

The following passage, from Plutarch's life of Cato, is perhaps more apposite than either of the above from Callimachus and Pindar.

Λεγεται δε Κατων, ευθυς εκ παιδιου, τη τε φωνη κ τῳ προσωπῳ, κ ταις περι τας παιδιας διατριβαις, ηθος υποφαινειν ατρεπτον, κ απαθες, κ βεβαιον εν πασιν.

Plutarch. Vit. Caton.

"It is related of Cato, that, from his childhood, "by his countenance, his manner of speaking, "and even his boyish amusements, he displayed a "disposition uniformly steady, firm, and reso-"lute."

Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
To such perfection, that, ere yet my age

204. ——————— *myself I thought*
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,]

Alluding to our Saviour's words, John xviii. 37. *To this end* WAS I BORN, *and for this cause came I into the world, that I should* BEAR WITNESS UNTO THE TRUTH. *Newton.*

206. ——————— *therefore, above my years,*
The law of God I read, &c.—]

This has a resemblance of Virgil's

ANTE ANNOS animumque gerens curamque virilem.
ÆN. ix. 311.

And thus Spencer,

Ne in her speech, ne in her haviour
Was lightness seen, or looser vanity,
But gracious womanhood, and GRAVITY
ABOVE THE REASON OF HER YOUTHLY YEARS.
FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. ii. 15.

207. *The law of God I read, and found it sweet,*
Made it my whole delight—]

"*How* SWEET ARE THY WORDS *unto my taste!*
"*yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!*"
Psalm cxix. 103.

"*And* HIS DELIGHT IS IN THE LAW OF THE
"LORD; *and in his law doth he meditate day and*
"*night.*" Psalm i. 2.

208. ——————— *and in it grew*
To such perfection—]

In the second Chapter of St. Luke, after the return of Jesus to Nazareth from Jerusalem, where he had been found in the Temple,

Among the gravest Rabbis disputant,
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,

it is said of him that he *increased in wisdom and stature.*

209. ——————— *ere yet my age*
Had measur'd twice six years—]

The following verses of Statius bear a resemblance not only to this immediate passage, but also to some of the preceding lines.

—— OCTONOS BIS jam tibi CIRCUIT ANNOS
VITA; sed ANGUSTIS ANIMUS ROBUSTIOR ANNIS,
Succumbitque oneri, et MENTEM SUA non capit ÆTAS.
5 SYLV. ii. 12.

209. ——————— *that ere yet my age*
Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own;]

Though Milton, in one of his early poems, has paid a tribute of respect to the "*trump of Cre-*"*mona,*" it is but seldom that we can trace him to any part of the CHRISTIAD. There is however some resemblance here to the description, in that poem, of Jesus at this early age, when at Jerusalem, at the Feast of the Passover, going into the Temple, and *sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions.* Joseph, who is made by Vida to narrate the early part of our Saviour's life, describes himself and Mary, after having missed Jesus on their road, returning to Jerusalem, and finding him in the temple, as he is here described.

Ecce sacerdotum in medio conspeximus illum,
(Prima rudimenta, et virtutis signa futuræ,)
Alta recensentem vatum monumenta, patrumque
Primores ultro scitantem obscura, docentemque.

Illum

Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own;
And was admir'd by all: yet this not all
To which my spirit aspir'd; victorious deeds
Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd:
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

Illum omnes admirari haud vulgata canentem
Supra aciem, captumque hominis, mentemque vigentem,
Humanâ non vi edoctum, non arte magistrâ,
Maturumque animi nimium puerilibus annis.
CHRISTIAD, iii. 947.

214. *And was admired by all—*]

And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. Luke ii. 47.
Newton.

218. *Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,*
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,]

Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height, in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations.

He sings in nearly the same strain in his *Samson Agonistes;* where Mr. Warton (*Note on* SONNET xvi.) considers him as intending a panegyric to the memory of Cromwell and his deliverance.

O! how comely it is, and how reviving
To the spirits of JUST men long OPPRESS'D,
When God into the hands of their DELIVERER
Puts INVINCIBLE might
To quell the mighty of the earth, the OPPRESSOR,
The brute and boisterous force of VIOLENT men
Hardy and industrious to support
TYRANNIC POWER, but raging to pursue
The RIGHTEOUS and all such as honor TRUTH;
He all their ammunition
And feats of war defeats,
With PLAIN HEROIC MAGNITUDE OF MIND
And celestial vigour arm'd.——
1268.

221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first &c.*]

The true spirit of toleration breathes in these lines, and the sentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who *came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* *Newton.*

222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts,*]

Virgil GEORG. iv. 561.

——— victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura———

And make persuasion do the work of fear;
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully misdoing, but unware
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.
These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,
And said to me apart, "High are thy thoughts,
O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar
To what heighth sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high;
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,
For know, thou art no son of mortal man;
Though men esteem thee low of parentage,

which expression of Virgil seems to be taken from Xenophon, Oeconomic. xxi. 12. Ου γαρ παυμοι δοκει ὁλον τῳ̃ι το αγαθον ανθρωπινον ειναι, αλλα θειον, το ἑθελοντων αρχειν. *Jortin.*

226. ——— *the stubborn only to subdue.*]
This is Virgil's

——— debellare superbos———

Æn. vi. 854.

227. ——————— *my mother soon perceiving*
——————————— *inly rejoic'd,*]

Virgil, Æn. i. 502.

Latonæ TACITUM pertentant gaudia pectus.

Jortin.

The reader should recollect, that the occasion of the above verse, which is finely descriptive of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs; among whom

——— illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes.

231. ——————————— *true worth*]

Nec VERA VIRTUS, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus ———

Hor. L. 3. Ode 5.

233. *By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,*]

Milton, in one place of his Paradise Lost, uses the verb *to express*, in the same sense as he has done here. It is one of the speeches of the Deity to Adam after his creation.

Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
And find thee knowing, not in beasts alone,
Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,
EXPRESSING well the spirit within thee free,
My image, not imparted to the brute,

viii. 374.

Matchless Sire may remind us of a line in the same poem, of which this line has also a considerable resemblance, both in the *rythm* and in the *repetition*.

Warring in Heaven against Heaven's MATCHLESS KING.

iv. 41.

235. *Though men esteem thee low of parentage,*]

"*Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his* "*mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and* "*Joses, and Simon, and Judas?*"

"*And*

Thy father is the eternal King who rules
All Heaven and earth, Angels and sons of men;
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceiv'd in me a virgin; he foretold,
Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
At thy nativity, a glorious quire
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,
And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
For in the inn was left no better room:
A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honor thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;
By whose bright course led on they found the place,

"*And his sisters, are they not all with us?*
"*Whence then hath this man all these things?*"
"*And they were offended in him.*"——
Mat. xiii. 55, 56, 57. and Mark vi. 3.

239. ——————— *he foretold*
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.]

"*He shall be great, and shall be called the Son*
"*of the Highest: and* THE LORD GOD SHALL GIVE
"UNTO THE THRONE OF HIS FATHER DAVID:"
"*And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for*
ever; and of HIS KINGDOM THERE SHALL BE NO
"END." Luke i. 32, 33.

242 *At thy nativity, a glorious quire*
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.]

His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haste, and BY A QUIRE
OF SQUADRON'D ANGELS HEAR HIS CAROL SUNG.
PARADISE LOST, xii. 364.

249. *A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing*
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;]

—— yet at his birth A STAR,
UNSEEN BEFORE IN HEAVEN, proclaims him come,
And GUIDES THE EASTERN SAGES, who inquire
His place, to offer INCENSE, MYRRH, AND GOLD——
xii. 360.

Affirming

Affirming it thy star, new-graven in Heaven,
By which they knew the king of Israel born.
Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warn'd
By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested priest,
Like things of thee to all that present stood."
This having heard, strait I again revolv'd
The law and prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found, of whom they spake
I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard assay, even to the death,

255. *Just Simeon and prophetic Anna,—]*

It may not be improper to remark how strictly our author adheres to the Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates, but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as here *Just Simeon*, because it is said, Luke ii. 25. *and the same man was just:* and *prophetic Anna*, because it is said, Luke ii. 36. *and there was one Anna a prophetess.* The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest of this speech.

Newton.

261. ——— *to our scribes*
Known partly,—]

When the *Magi* arrived at Jerusalem enquiring where they might find the Messiah, whom they were come to worship, Herod called upon the Chief Priests and Scribes for information where Christ should be born. They truly answered him, from the Prophet Micah, *in Bethlehem of Judea.* Mat. ii. 4, 5. Thus did these learned Jews, these official expounders of their sacred writings, *partly know*, or *so far* clearly understand, the prophecies concerning the Messiah.

262. ——— *and soon found of whom they spake*
I am—]

The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and *unknown even to himself*, till Elias had anointed and declared him. Χριστ⊙ δε ει και γεγενησθαι, και εστι που, αγνωστ⊙ εστι, και ουδε αυτος πω ἑαυτον επιστατα, ουδε εχει δυναμιν τινα, μεχρις αν ελθων Ηλιας χριση αυτον, και φανερον πασι ποιηση. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 266. Ed. Col. *Calton.*

264. *Through many a hard assay, even to the death,]*

Thus in the COMUS, 972.

And sent them here, THROUGH HARD ASSAYS,

And Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. vi. C. vi. St. 3.

And pass'd THROUGH MANY PERILOUS ASSAYS—

Unto the death is an expression used in our translation of the Scriptures.——St. Paul, speaking of his mode of life and conduct previous to his conversion, says, *I persecuted this way unto the death.* Acts, xxii. 4. See also Judges, v. 18. Revel. xii. 11.

Ere

Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain,
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
The time prefix'd I waited; when behold
The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight,) now come, who was to come
Before Messiah, and his way prepare!
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believ'd was from above; but he
Strait knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd
Me him, (for it was shown him so from Heaven,)
Me him, whose harbinger he was; and first
Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won:

266. ——————————— *whose sins'*
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head—]

Isaiah, liii. 6. *The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* *Newton.*

271. *Not knew by sight*—]

Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, John i. 31, 33, *And I knew him not.* He did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together. *Newton.*

276. *Me him, (for it was shewn him so from Heaven,)*
Me him, whose harbinger he was—]

Milton has given repetitions of this kind, with much effect, in his PARADISE LOST.

Behold ME then; ME for him, life for life
I offer; on ME let thine anger fall!
iii. 236.

——— that all
The sentence, from thy head remov'd, may light
On ME, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
ME, ME only, just object of his ire.
x. 933.

279. *As much his greater*—]

Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the same manner as he had done before, PARADISE LOST, V. 172.

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge him THY GREATER.

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. *Thyer.*

Dr. Bentley had proposed to read

Acknowledge

But, as I rose out of the laving stream,
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounc'd me his,
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
But openly begin, as best becomes,
The authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.
And now by some strong motion I am led
Into this wilderness, to what intent
I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know,
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

Acknowledge HIM CREATOR——
And Mr. Thyer
Acknowledge THY Creator——

280. ——— *out of the laving stream,*]

Alluding to the phrase *laver of regeneration* so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened. *Thyer.*

281. ——— *eternal doors*—]

So in Psal. xxiv. 7. 9. *everlasting doors.* And, PARADISE LOST, vii. 205.

——— Heaven open'd wide
Her EVER-DURING gates.———

284. ——— *me his,*
Me his beloved Son—]

Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
O Rutuli!
Virg. ÆN. ix. 247.

286. ——— *the time*
Now full—]

Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time. When the fulness of time was come,* &c. Gal. iv. 4. *Newton.*

293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*]

This whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, *that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the* ΛΟΓΟΣ, *as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's Elucidatio Status Controversiarum, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he *increased in wisdom,* and in stature. St. Luke ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that —— ipsa Θεότητος plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumtæ insinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutychiani. Grotius employs the same principle, to explain Mark,

So spake our Morning Star, then in his rise,
And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;
The way he came not having mark'd, return
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.

St. Mark, xiii. 32.—Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *divinam sapientiam* menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse *pro temporum ratione*. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, προεκοπτε σοφια, Luc. II. 52? And our Tillotson approved the opinion.——"It is "not unreasonable to suppose, that the *Divine* "*Wisdom*, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his *human soul* according to "his pleasure, and so his *human Nature* might at "some times not know some things. And if this "be not admitted, how can we understand that "passage concerning our Saviour, Luke, ii. 52. "that *Jesus grew in wisdom and stature?*"

Calton.

294. *So spake our Morning Star—*]

So our Saviour is called in the Revelation, xxii. 16. *the bright and morning star.* *Newton.*

And thus Spenser, in his HYMN OF HEAVENLY LOVE.

O blessed well of love! O flowre of grace!
O glorious MORNING STAR! O lamp of light!
Most lively image of thy Father's face,
Eternal King of glory, Lord of might,
Meek Lamb of God before all worlds behight,
How can we thee requite for all this good?
Or what can prize that thy most precious blood?

296. ——— *on every side beheld*
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;]

Thus Virgil describes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his NINTH ÆNEID.

Sylva fuit, late DUMIS ATQUE ILICE NIGRA
HORRIDA, quam densi complerant undique sentes;
RARA PER OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES.
381.

But *dusk with horrid shades* is more immediately from

HORRENTIQUE ATRUM nemus imminet UMBRA.
ÆN. i. 165.

298. ——— *by human steps untrod;*]

Silius Italicus describes the Alps

——— NEGATAS
GRESSIBUS HUMANIS Alpes———
xvii. 502.

299. *And he still on was led, but with such thoughts*
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.]

The Poet here resumes and continues the description he had given of our blessed Lord, previous to his Soliloquy, on his first entering the desert, v. 189.

302. *Such solitude before choicest society.*]

This verse is of the same measure as one in the Paradise Lost, ix. 249. and is to be scanned in the same manner.

For Soli|tude some|times is| best so|ciety.
Such soli|tude be|fore choi|cest so|ciety.

Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar to defend him from the dew, 305

Or we must allow that an Alexandrine verse (as it is called,) may be admitted into blank verse as well as into rhyme. *Newton.*

I agree with Bp. Newton that this verse is to be scanned in the same manner as the one he has cited from the Paradise Lost; but I do not accede to *his* manner of scanning them. Their only irregularity, (if we read *choicest* accented on the last syllable, as we must *vanquish*, v. 175. of this Book, where *see* Jortin's note,) is their having two hypercatalectic syllables, which Shakespear and the Dramatic Poets frequently use. Thus in MACBETH,

Come take my milk for gall, ye murd'ring ministers!—

Bp. Newton, although perfectly well-read in the Latin Poets, appears to have paid but little attention to the very wide difference which there is between the *quantity* of Latin verse, and the *accent*, or *ictus*, on which the rythm of English verse entirely depends. In consequence of this, in his first note on the Paradise Lost, speaking of the *measure*, he has some observations that seem highly erroneous.—He there cites the following verse, as an instance of Milton's sometimes using the *Trochee*, or foot of one long and one short syllable, | – ∪|, instead of the *Iambic*, which consists of one short and one long, | ∪ – |,

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

Here, reading with a *classical eye*, but laying aside his *English ear*, he thus marks Om̄nĭpotent. But, according to the invariable pronunciation of our language, the *ictus* falls so strong on the second syllable of Om̆nīpotent, that the first is comparatively short; and the verse, scanned accordingly, becomes a pure English Iambic.

Wh̆o dūrst | dĕfȳ | th' Om̆nī|pŏtēnt | tŏ arm̄s|.

Neither does he seem to have at all considered how much Milton availed himself both of *elisions* and *contractions*. Otherwise he would scarcely have cited the three following verses, *(See Newton's first note on the Paradise Lost)*, as exhibiting the one a Dactyl | – ∪ ∪|, the other an Anapæst | ∪ ∪ – |, the third a Tribrachus | ∪ ∪ ∪ |; for, in fact, the first and third are pure Iambics; and the second has no irregularity, except in the first foot, in which place much licence is often taken, and the Trochee, particularly, is often introduced with the best effect.

Hŭrld heād|lŏng flă|mĭng frōm | th' ĕthē|rĕal sky|,
Mȳriăds | thŏugh brīght; | ĭf hē | wh̆om m̄u|tuăl leāgue|,
Tŏ mān|y ă rōw | ŏf pīpes | thĕ soūnd|-bŏard brēathes|

Milton's practice of frequently cutting off the letter *y* in the conclusion of a word, when it precedes a vowel, has been remarked by Mr. Addison in his *Critique* on the *language* of the Paradise Lost.

303. *Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill*
Sometimes, anon on shady vale, &c.—]

Here the Poet of Paradise Lost breaks out in his meridian splendor. There is something particularly picturesque in this description.

305. *Under the covert of some ancient oak*
Or cedar—]

The Cedar and the Oak are frequently mentioned together in Scripture. Isaiah ii. 13.—xliv. 14. Amos ii. 9. Zechariah xi. 1. 2.

306. —— *to defend him from the dew,*]

That the dews of that country were very considerable may be collected from several parts of Scripture. The dews of mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the 133d Psalm, as producing the most irriguous effects. Maundrell, in his *Travels*, when within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain, says, "we were sufficiently

Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last
Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,
Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd; his walk

" ficiently instructed by experience what the Holy " Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents " being as wet with it, as if it had rained all " night."

307. *Or harbour'd in one cave—*]

Dr. Jortin wishes to read *some* cave.——Caves are very frequently spoken of in scripture, as places of retreat for protection or shelter. One is mentioned in the wilderness of Engaddi, which was used for a sheep-cote. There it was that David cut off the skirt of Saul's robe.—See 1 Sam. xxiv. 3, 4. Near to Engaddi was Gilgal, and at no great distance Macedah and Adullam; the caves of which are particularly noticed in scripture.

310. *Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,*]

St. Mark's short account of *the Temptation* is, that our blessed Lord *was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him.*

Mark i. 13.

Abp. Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation, says, " During these forty days it is observed by " St. Mark, that our blessed Redeemer *was with " the wild beasts*, which words must imply, else " they are of no significance, that the fiercest " animals were awed by his presence, and so far " laid aside their savage nature for a time; thus " verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job saith " figuratively, concerning a good man; *At destruc- " tion and famine shalt thou laugh, neither shalt " thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth*, FOR " THEY SHALL BE AT PEACE WITH THEE."

Before the Fall, Milton supposes those beasts, which are now wild, to have been harmless, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. Having described Adam and Eve in Paradise, in their state of innocence, he says,

About them frisking play'd
All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chace
In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them——————

PARADISE LOST, iv. 340.

Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow savage.

Discord first,
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy:
Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving
Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him, or with countenance grim
Glar'd on him passing——————

x. 707.

Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of their Paradisiacal disposition.

In Homer's HYMN TO VENUS, where that Goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same effect, in its fullest extent.

Ιδην δ' ικανεν πολυπιδακα, μητερα θηρων·
Βῆ δ' ιθυς τραθῆιο δι' ὑλεος, οἱ δε μετ' αυτην
Σαινονθες πολιοιτε λυκοι χαροποι τε λεοντες,
Αρκτοι, παρδαλιες τε θοαι προκαπων ακορητοι
Ιεσαν.——————

68.

To Ida, source of many a bursting fount,
Nurse of wild beasts, she came, and to the folds
Travers'd direct the summit. Grisly wolves,
Grim-visag'd lions, bears, and swift of foot
Pards who the timorous deer unsated gorge,
Before her fawning crouch'd, and on her steps
Attended playful——————

The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.
But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve

312. *The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,*]

The word *worm*, though joined with the epithet noxious, may give too low an idea to some readers; but, as we observed upon the Paradise Lost, IX. 1068, where Satan is called *false worm*, it is a general name for the reptile kind; and a serpent is called the mortal worm, by Shakespear, 2 HENRY SIXTH, Act III. *Newton.*

And in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, Act III.

Could not a WORM, an ADDER do as much?

Shakespear also, in his ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, calls the Aspic, "the pretty WORM of "Nilus;" on which Johnson observes that "worm "is the Teutonic word for serpent." He adds, "we have the *blind-worm* and *slow-worm* still in "our language, and the Norwegians call an enor-"mous monster, seen sometimes in the northern "ocean, the *sea-worm*."

313. *The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.*]

——— about them round
A LION now he stalks WITH FIERY GLARE;
Then as A TIGER———————

PARADISE LOST, iv. 401.

In a passage of the PARADISE LOST, cited in the last note but one, it is said that, after the fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,

Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him, or WITH COUNTENANCE GRIM
GLAR'D ON HIM PASSING———————

The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakespear.

——————— I met a lion
Who GLAR'D UPON ME, AND WENT SURLY BY,
Without annoying me———————

JULIUS CÆSAR, Act I. Sc. 4.

313. ——————— *aloof.*]

But safest he who stood ALOOF
When insupportably his foot advanc'd——

SAMS. AGON. 135.

314. *But now an aged man*—]

As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerselt. *Thyer.*

314. ——— *an aged man in rural weeds,*]

Thus, in the FIRST Book of the FAERY QUEEN, Una and the Red-cross Knight are met by the Enchanter Archimago, disguised under the appearance of an old Hermit,

At length they chanc'd to meet upon their way
AN AGED MAN IN LONG BLACK WEEDS YCLAD.

B. i. C. i. 29.

And, in COMUS, v. 84. the *Spirit* says, he must put off his celestial habiliments,

And take THE WEEDS and likeness of A SWAIN.

The weeds of a swain are "rural weeds;" and thus Satan, under this disguise, in verse 337 of this Book, is called *the swain.*

315. *Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,*]

I came not here on such a trivial toy
AS A STRAY'D EWE———

COMUS, 502.

Against

Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
He saw approach, who first with curious eye
Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake.
SIR, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan? for single none
Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drought,
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honor'd so, and call'd thee Son

317. ——— *when winds blow keen,*]

——— while THE WINDS
BLOW MOIST AND KEEN———
PARADISE LOST, x. 1065.

319. ——— *with curious eye*
Perus'd him—]

Thus in HAMLET, Act II. Scene I. Ophelia, describing the behaviour of Hamlet to her, says,

He took me by the wrist, and held me hard,
Then goes he to the length of all his arm,
And, with his other hand thus o'er his brow,
He falls to such PERUSAL OF MY FACE,
As he would draw it———

And, in the last Scene of ROMEO AND JULIET, Romeo, when he has killed Paris, says

——— Let me PERUSE THIS FACE!
Mercutio's kinsman! noble Comtè Paris!

And in the PARADISE LOST, B. VIII. where Adam relates to Raphael his own sensations, immediately after his creation, having with infinite beauty described the scene that surrounded him, and first attracted and gratified his attention, he thus proceeds to speak of his survey of himself.

Myself I then PERUS'D, and limb by limb
Survey'd———

323. ——— *for single none*
Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drought,]

Milton seems here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa; which Diodorus Siculus describes——ἡ ερημος ϰ θηριωδης της Λιβυης, επι πολυ μεν παρεκτεινουσα, δια δε την ΑΝΥΔΡΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΡΟΦΗΣ εχουσα την διεξοδον ου μονον επιπονον, αλλα ϰ παντελως επικινδυνον—
"desert, full of wild beasts, of a vast extent, and "from its being devoid of water, and bare of all "kind of food, not only difficult, but absolutely "dangerous to pass over."

325. ——— *pin'd with hunger*—]

Death, in the TENTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, thus describes himself,

—— me, who WITH ETERNAL FAMINE PINE,
597.

Of

Of God: I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh, (nighest is far,)
Where ought we hear, and curious are to hear
What happens new; fame also finds us out.
To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither,
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek.
By miracle he may, reply'd the swain;
What other way I see not, for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd

330. —— *I saw and heard, for we sometimes*
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh—]

All this is finely in character with the assumed person of the Tempter, and tends at the same time to give more effect to the preceding descriptions. It should be considered also that it was not necessary to confine those descriptions merely to that part of the wilderness of Judea, into which our Lord was now just entering, V. 193, or where at most he had not advanced any great way, V. 299.—That wilderness was of a great length, the most habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan; southward it extended into vast and uninhabited deserts, which, in the map in Reland's *Palæstina*, are termed *vastissimæ solitudines*. To describe these, in such a manner as might impress a deep sense of danger in the mind of him to whom he addressed himself, was perfectly consistent with the Tempter's purpose.

334. —— *fame also finds us out.*]

The same speaker in PARADISE LOST, B. iv. when discovered in the Garden of Eden, being brought before Gabriel and questioned by him, in his account of himself and the expedition which brought him there, says,

—— I alone first undertook
To wing the desolate abyss, and spy
This new-created world, whereof in Hell
FAME IS NOT SILENT ——

335.

338. —— *for we here*
Live on tough roots and stubs—]

This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be read *shrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the ακριδες, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. *Thyer.*

Yet, in the TEMPEST, Prospero threatens Ferdinand with nearly as hard fare. Act I. Sc. 3.

—— thy food shall be
The fresh brook mussels, WITHER'D ROOTS, AND HUSKS
WHEREIN THE ACORN CRADLED——

Stubs are in fact only broken ends of the larger *withered roots*.

339. —— *to thirst inur'd*
More than the camel—]

It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days. Sitim & quatriduo tolerant. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. viii. Sect. 26. But Tavernier

More than the camel, and to drink go far,
Men to much misery and hardship born:
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.
He ended, and the Son of God reply'd.
Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written,
(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,)
Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with Manna? In the mount

Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. *Newton.*

Julius Pollux, (L. i. C. 10.) speaking of camels comparatively with horses, says they are ευεργωτεροι δια το αδιψον, "more capable of rendering service, "because they are not affected by thirst."——An Arabian author, cited by Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon*, (Part i. B. 2. C. 2.) says, "the camel can not "only go without water for ten days, but will eat "such things as grow in the deserts, which no "other beasts of burthen will eat."

348. *For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,*]

In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord says to the Tempter,

——— desist, THOU ART DISCERN'D
And toil'st in vain———————
497.

349. *Man lives not by bread only, but each word*
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with Manna?—]

The words of St. Matthew, C. iv. 44. are, *But he answered and said, It is written man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* And this refers to the EIGHTH Chapter of Deuteronomy, V. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, *and he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*

The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty "in the scripture," has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness.

351. ——————————— *in the mount*
Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;]

"*And he was there,*" (i. e. in the mount) "*with the Lord, forty days and forty nights; he* "*did neither eat bread, nor drink water.*"

Exodus, xxxiv. 28. See also Deuter. ix. 9.

Moses

Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;
And forty days Elijah, without food,
Wander'd this barren waste; the same I now:
Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?
WHOM thus answer'd the Arch-Fiend, now undisguis'd.
'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

353. *And forty days Elijah, without food,*
Wander'd this barren waste—]

After Elijah had been miraculously fed in the wilderness, it is said of him that he *went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights, unto Horeb, the mount of God.*

1 Kings, xix. 8.

356. *Knowing who I am—*]

This is not to be understood of Christ's *divine* nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person *declared the Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, V. 385, and that was all that he knew of him.

Calton.

357. ——— *the Arch-Fiend—*]

Satan is thus called in the PARADISE LOST, Book i.

Whereto with speedy words the ARCH-FIEND reply'd,
156.

So, stretch'd out huge in length, the ARCH-FIEND lay.
209.

When he breaks *the horrid silence* in his first speech to Beelzebub, he is termed the ARCH-ENEMY.

358. *'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,*]

Satan's instantaneous avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general, through the whole of the Paradise Lost.—The rest of his speech is artfully submissive.

It may not be improper in this place, to consider the conduct of the Poet, and the reason of it, respecting the Arch-Fiend's appearance and demeanour here, and, in a part of the Paradise Lost, where his situation may be considered as in some degree similar.——In the FOURTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, Satan is represented sitting, in an assumed shape, "close at the ear of Eve;" in order to inspire such dreams and ideas as might render her a more apt subject of temptation. Being discovered in this situation, on the touch of Ithuriel's spear, he resumes his own proper form; and, on being questioned by the Angels concerning the purpose of his being there, he answers in scornful and indignant terms.—In the instance before us, Satan is also in an assumed shape, under which he is immediately known to our blessed Lord; whose power to discover him, through that disguise, he does not seem to have been at all aware of, until his declaration,

Knowing who I am, as I KNOW WHO THOU ART.

Satan, on finding himself discovered, makes here no vaunt of his power or rank, as he had done in the other instance; but, having acknowledged who he is, returns only apologies and flattery to the "stern" rebukes of our Saviour, notwithstanding that he was at the same time

——— inly stung with anger and disdain.

The conduct of our author, on both these occasions, is highly proper and admirable. Satan, when discovered by Ithuriel and Zephon, and by them conducted to Gabriel, finds himself in the presence of those, who had formerly been his compeers or inferiors, when in his state of happiness and splendor; and, on their attempting to restrain him, breaks forth,

Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt
Kept not my happy station, but was driven
With them from bliss to the bottomless deep,
Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd

forth, as might be expected from his haughty and violent character, into sentiments of indignation and rage, and prepares for the most determined resistance; from which however he is deterred by a sign from above, which he knew to proceed immediately from the hand of God. On the present occasion, "awe from above had quell'd his heart." He was aware of the superiority of the Son of God, and, as the Scripture says of him, he *believes and trembles*;

But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord,
From thee I can, and must submiss, endure
Check, or reproof; and glad to escape so quit.

Milton's different representations of the conduct of Satan, in these two different exigencies, may be considered as meant to elucidate and exalt the character of our Lord, whom the Almighty had before directed all the angels of Heaven to adore and honor as himself,

—— All ye Gods,
Adore the Son, and honor him as me.
PARADISE LOST, iii. 343.

Neither are his glory and honor confined to the celestial mansions; but even the infernal spirits are involuntarily led to pay him the same homage.—We may observe, as a further circumstance of the marked superiority of our Lord's character over that of the blessed angels, that Ithuriel and Zephon, on Satan's resuming his own proper shape, knew him not, until he informed them who he was; and that Gabriel himself, at Satan's first appearance before him, says only that he

—— by his gait,
And fierce demeanour, SEEMS the Prince of Hell.

But our Lord here is acquainted with all the wiles and intentions of his adversary, and knows him under all his disguise, and at his first approach.—The first entrance of Satan into Paradise, we may also recollect, was under disguise; in which he deceived Uriel, who was held to be

The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heaven.

But, as he says,

—— neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except only to God alone,
PARADISE LOST, iii. 682.

This discovery of Satan then may be considered as an intended proof of our Lord's divine character, in his discerning what was invisible, except *to God alone;* and the submiss and crouching behaviour of the Arch-Fiend, so different from what it was upon all other occasions, amounts to a further attestation of it.

360. *Kept not my happy station*—]

A manner of speaking borrowed from the Scripture, Jude vi. *And the angels which* KEPT NOT THEIR FIRST ESTATE. *Newton.*

360. —— *but was driven*
With them from bliss, to the bottomless deep,]

—— Him the almighty power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
TO BOTTOMLESS PERDITION ——
PARADISE LOST, i. 44.

—— eternal wrath
Burnt after them TO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT.——
vi. 865.

362. —— *that hideous place*—]

The Devils, immediately after their expulsion from Heaven, in the FIRST Book of PARADISE LOST, are described "abject and lost,"

Under amazement of their HIDEOUS change.
313.

By rigor unconniving, but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of earth,
Or range in the air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him and illustrate his high worth;
And, when to all his Angels he propos'd
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud

363. ——— *unconniving*—]

Thus in the speech of the Deity in the PARADISE LOST, where he notices the entrance of Sin and Death into the world, and terms them "*these* "*wasteful furies*," they are considered as supposing the Almighty to *connive* at their proceedings.

——— who impute
Folly to me, so doth the Prince of Hell
And his adherents, that with so much ease
I suffer them to enter and possess
A place so heavenly, and CONNIVING seem
To gratify my scornful enemies.———

x. 620.

364. ——— *my dolorous prison*—]

—— through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region DOLOROUS,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.

PARADISE LOST, ii. 618.

365. ——— *to round this globe of earth,*]

Milton uses the same phrase in his PARADISE LOST, x. 684. speaking of the sun:

Had ROUNDED still the horizon.———

Thyer.

366. ——— *the Heaven of Heavens*]

Into the HEAVEN OF HEAVENS I have presum'd,
An earthly guest.———

PARADISE LOST, vii. 13.

Milton frequently uses this expression of "the "Heaven of Heavens." PARADISE LOST, iii. 390. vii. 553. xii. 451.

Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple, says, *But will God indeed dwell in the earth? Behold the Heaven, and* HEAVEN OF HEAVENS *cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded!*

1 Kings, viii. 27.

368. *I came among the Sons of God*—]

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them. Job, i. 6.

369. ——— *Uzzean Job*]

"*There was a man in the land of Uz, whose* "*name was* JOB." Job, i. 1.

372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*]

This story of Ahab is related, 1 Kings, xxii. 19, &c. *I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him.*

That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies
To his destruction, as I had in charge;
For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
To be belov'd of God, I have not lost

him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so. This symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand literally, though as a poet he represents it so. *Newton.*

372. ———— *into fraud*]

Fraud is used exactly in the same sense, in the PARADISE LOST,

So glister'd the dire snake, and INTO FRAUD
LED Eve our credulous mother.———
ix. 643.

Where Bp. Newton observes that "FRAUD signifies hurt and damage, as well as deceit and delusion; and cites the following apposite passage from Virg. ÆN. x. 72.

Quis Deus in FRAUDEM, quæ dura potentia nostra
Egit?———

377. ———— *though I have lost*
Much lustre of my native brightness—]

It is said of Satan, in the FIRST Book of the PARADISE LOST, 591.

——— his form had yet NOT LOST
ALL HER ORIGINAL BRIGHTNESS.———

And when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the FOURTH Book, find him in Paradise, and charge him with being one of the rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell, Satan asks, *if they do not know him?* To which Zephon replies,

Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish'd BRIGHTNESS to be known,
As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee;———
835.

379. ———— *I have not lost*
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous—]

After the rebuke of Zephon to Satan, part of which is cited in the preceding note, it is said,

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible; abash'd the Devil stood,
And felt HOW AWFUL GOODNESS is, and saw
VIRTUE in her shape HOW LOVELY; saw, and pin'd
His loss.————
iv. 844.

Thus also, in the SECOND Book of the PARADISE LOST, where the fallen Angels are described doing homage to the Public Spirit of their Chief, it is said,

——— for neither do the Spirits damn'd
LOSE ALL THEIR VIRTUE.———
482.

And, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he "contemplates them with admiration." Speaking of them he says

——— whom my thoughts pursue
With wonder, and COULD LOVE, SO LIVELY SHINES
IN THEM DIVINE RESEMBLANCE, and such grace
The hand that form'd them on their shape hath pour'd.
PARADISE LOST, iv. 362.

To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense:
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy Godlike deeds?
Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind: why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence; by them
I lost not what I lost, rather by them
I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
Copartner in these regions of the world,
If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy they say excites me, thus to gain

385. ——————— *to hear attent*
Thy wisdom—]

Milton seems to have borrowed this word, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. vi. Cant. 9. St. 26.

Whilst thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy ear
Hung still upon his melting mouth ATTENT.

Thyer.

Shakespear also, HAMLET, Act I. Scene 2. has

Season your admiration for a while
With AN ATTENT EAR.——

393. ——————— *lend them oft my aid,*
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.]

The following passage of Cicero reflects so much light on these lines, as would incline one to believe that Milton had *it* in his mind.

" Multa cernunt haruspices; multa augures pro-
" vident; multa ORACULIS declarentur, multa
" VATICINATIONIBUS, multa SOMNIIS, multa
" PORTENTIS: quibus cognitis, multæ sæpe res
" hominum sententia atque utilitate partæ," *(or, as Lambinus reads,* ex animi sententia atque utilitate partæ) " multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt."—

DE NAT. DEOR. ii. 65.

Newton.

397. *Envy they say excites me, thus to gain*
Companions of my misery and woe.]

" They

Companions of my misery and woe.
At first it may be; but, long since with woe
Nearer acquainted, now I feel, by proof,
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens ought each man's peculiar load.
Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd:
This wounds me most, (what can it less?) that man,
Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more.
To whom our Saviour sternly thus reply'd.
Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come

"They say" is not here merely expletory, or only of *general* reference. It relates to what Raphael in express terms *had said* in the conclusion of the SIXTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, where he warns Adam of Satan's purposes against him and the motives of them.

——— he who ENVIES now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that WITH HIM
Bereav'd of happiness THOU MAY'ST PARTAKE
HIS PUNISHMENT, ETERNAL MISERY;
Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the most High,
Thee once TO GAIN COMPANION OF HIS WOE.

400. ——— *now I feel, by proof,*
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,]

Our author had in his eye this line of the poet,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

Thyer.

We may compare the following passage of Cicero; "Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, si vivere "honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint: AUT "CUR MINORE DOLORE PERITUROS SE CUM "MULTIS, QUAM SI SOLI PEREANT, ARBITREN-"TUR." ii. IN CATILIN. 10.

404. *This wounds me most, (what can it less?) that man,*
Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more.]

The Poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, *Deservedly thou griev'st*, &c.

Thyer.

In the first speech of the Deity, in the THIRD Book of the PARADISE LOST, the difference between the Fall of the Angels, and the Fall of Man, and the respective future consequences of each are thus pointed out.

The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd; man falls deceiv'd
By the other first; man therefore shall find grace,
The other none.———

Into

Into the Heaven of Heavens: thou com'st indeed,
As a poor miserable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had sat
Among the prime in splendor, now depos'd,
Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn,
To all the host of Heaven: the happy place
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,
So never more in Hell than when in Heaven.
But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him

411. *As a poor miserable captive thrall*]

Thrall is an old word for slave; frequently used by Spenser.

——— ne did he cease,
Till that he came where he had Cambell seen,
LIKE CAPTIVE THRALL, two other knights atween,
FAERY QUEEN, B. iv. C. iv. 34.

Milton in the PARADISE LOST, has

——— THRALLS
By right of war.———
i. 149.

413. *Among the prime in splendor*—]

These were THE PRIME in order and in might
PARADISE LOST, i. 506.

——— among the choice and PRIME
Of those heaven-warring champions.———
ii. 423.

414. *Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,*]

Milton is fond of accumulating a cluster of participles.

Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen.——
PARADISE LOST, vi. 852.

416. ——— *the happy place*
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,]

We find the same sentiment also, in PARADISE LOST, ix. 467.

But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight;
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure not for him ordain'd.———

Thyer.

With

With all inflictions? but his patience won.
The other service was thy chosen task,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles
By thee are given, and what confess'd more true
Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,

426. ——— *but his patience won*]

The verb *won* I think is not often used as a verb neuter, but I find it so in Spenser's FAERY QUEEN, B. i. Cant. 6. St. 39.

And he the stoutest knight that ever WON.

Newton.

428. ——— *in four hundred mouths;*]

Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, about four hundred men.

1 Kings, xxii. 6.

432. ——— *that hath been thy craft,*
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.]

The following passage from St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton here says, "Miscent tamen isti (Dæmones) fallacias; et verum "quod nôsse potuerint, non docendi magis quam "decipiendi fine, prænuntiant."

DE DIV. DÆMON. Sect. 12.

Thyer.

434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark,*
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,]

The oracles were often so obscure and dubious, that there was need of other oracles to explain them. Sed jam ad te venio,

Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,
Unde superstisiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera,

tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione sæpissime; partim FLEXILOQUIS, ET OBSCURIS, UT INTERPRES EGEAT INTERPRETE, ET SORS IPSA AD SORTES REFERENDA SIT; PARTIM AMBIGUIS, ET QUÆ AD DIALECTICUM DEFERENDA SINT. Cicero DE DIV. ii. 56. *Calton.*

Milton, in these lines about the Heathen oracles, seems to have had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject in the fifth book of his Præparatio Evangelica. That learned father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many instances from history of their delusive and double meanings. It may not perhaps be impertinent to mention one by way of illustration. Crœsus, sending to consult the Delphic oracle about the success of his intended expedition against the Persian, received this answer,

Κροισῳ· Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει,

Crœsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim,

which, by the ambiguity of one word, might either signify the conquest of the Persian empire, or the ruin of his own: but he, as it was natural enough for an ambitious prince to do, construing it according to his own flattering hopes, was overcome, and lost his kingdom. *Thyer.*

Which

Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
And not well understood as good not known?
Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,
To fly or follow what concern'd him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is
Among them to declare his providence
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his Angels president

439. ——————— *instruct,*]

Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes *suspect* for *suspected*. In the Paradise Lost he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not "please the million."

447. *But from him, or his angels president*
In every province?—]

Utitur etiam eis Deus (Dæmonibus) ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendam, dum divina mysteria eis per Angelos revelantur. The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dæ Quæst. 172. Art. 6.) *Calton.*

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the Gods of the Heathens and their oracles, says —Dispositiones etiam Dei & tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, & nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita & hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, scient Crœsi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Apol. C. 22. St. Austin, more appositely to our present purpose, answering the Heathen boasts of their oracles, says—tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro & clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam Dæmonum extortum est id prodere cultoribus suis quod dicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis Angelorum. Aug. De Div. Dæmonum. Sect. 12. Tom. 6. Ed. Bened. And again, Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernosque spiritus aliquem vera cognoscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile est, & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & justus ad eorum pœnam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoscendo patiantur, occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis, prænuntient hominibus. De Div. Quæst. ad Simpl. L. 2. S. 3. Tom. 6. *Thyer.*

Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in Deuteronomy. Ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη—ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. *Warburton.*

In

In every province, who, themselves disdaining
To approach thy temples, give thee in command
What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say,
To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st:
Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.
But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere;

453. *Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold:*]

The Demons, Lactantius says, could certainly foresee, and truly foretel many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of providence before their fall. And then they assumed all the honor to themselves, pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. "Nam "cum dispositiones Dei præsentiant, quippe qui "ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus; "ut quæcunque à Deo vel facta sunt vel fiunt ipsi "potissimum facere, aut fecisse videantur." DIV. INST. ii. 16. *Calton.*

456. ——— *henceforth oracles are ceas'd,*
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere;
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.]

As Milton had before adopted the ancient opinion of oracles being the operations of the fallen Angels, so here again he follows the same authority, in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See this matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's History of Oracles, and Father Baltus's answer to him. *Thyer.*

Thus Juvenal, SAT. vi. 554;

——— DELPHIS ORACULA CESSANT.

And in the FIFTH Book of Lucan's PHARSALIA, where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphic oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him;

——— MUTO PARNASSUS HIATU
CONTICUIT, pressitque Deum, seu spiritus istas
Destituit fauces, mundique in devia versum
Duxit iter — — — — — —
— — — — — seu sponte Deorum
Cyrrha SILET.———

Thus also Milton, in his HYMN ON THE NATIVITY;

The ORACLES ARE DUMB,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving,
Apollo, from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his CHRIST'S VICTORY IN HEAVEN, St. 82.

The Angels carol'd loud their song of peace,
The cursed ORACLES WERE STRUCKEN DUMB.—

458. ——— *Delphos,* —]

In the famous controversy about ancient and modern learning, Mr. Wotton reproves Sir William Temple for putting *Delphos* for *Delphi* every where in his Essays. Mr. Boyle justifies it, and says that

At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
God hath now sent his living oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.
So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.
Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
And urg'd me hard with-doings, which not will
But misery hath wrested from me. Where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?

it is used by all the finest writers of our tongue, and best judges of it, particularly Waller, Dryden, Creech, &c. If these authorities may justify Sir William Temple, they may also justify Milton; but certainly the true way of writing it is not *Delphos* in the accusative case, but *Delphi* in the nominative. *Newton.*

But *Delphos* in English is as proper as *Argos*, which by Livy, Virgil, and most of the Latin authors is written *Argi*.

460. ——— *his living oracle*]

Christ is stiled by the Greek Fathers αυτοζωη, ζωσα βουλη, λογος ζων, *essential life, the living counsel*, and *the living word of God*. And St. John says, that *in him was life, and the life was the light of men*. i. 4. *Calton.*

And in Acts, vii. 38. where it is said, *Who received the lively* (or living) *oracles to give unto us*, instead of λογια ζωντα, some copies read λογον ζωντα.

469. ——— *which not will*
But misery hath wrested from me.—]

Thus, in ROMEO AND JULIET, the starved Apothecary excuses his selling poison,

My poverty, but not my will, consents.

474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*]

Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration? *Thyer.*

But

But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must submiss, indure,
Check or reproof, and glad to escape so quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;

478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*]

Thus Silius Italicus, iv. 605.;

Explorant adversa viros, PERQUE ASPERA DURO
NITITUR ad laudem VIRTUS INTERRITA CLIVO.

And in Book the FIFTEENTH, where Virtue is the speaker;

Casta mihi domus, et CELSO STANT COLLE PENATES;
ARDUA SAXOSO PERDUCIT SEMITA CLIVO;
ASPER principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos est,)
Prosequitur labor. ADNITENDUM INTRARE VOLENTI.
101.

Thus also Hesiod, OPERA ET DIES, 289.

Της δ' αρετης ἱδρῶτα θεοι προπαροιθεν εθηκαν
Αθανατοι· μακρος δε κ᾽ ορθιος οἶμος επ' αυτην,
κ᾽ τρηχυς το πρῶτον.———

By toil alone, so will the immortal Gods,
We rise to virtue; the ascent is long,
Rugged and steep at first.———

From whom Tasso, C. xvii. 61.

Signor non sotto l' ombra in piaggia molle,
Tra fonti, e fior, tra ninfe, e tra Sirene;
Ma in cima, a l' erto, e faticoso colle
De la virtù riposto è il nostro bene.
Chi non gela, e non suda, e non s'estolle
Da le vie del piacer, la non perviene.

Not underneath sweet shades and fountains shrill,
Among the nymphs, the fairies, leaves, and flowers,
But on the steep, the rough, and craggy hill
Of virtue stands this bliss, this good of ours,
By toil and travel, not by sitting still
In pleasure's lap, we come to honour's bowers.
Fairfax.

And from him Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. iii. 40. 41.

Abroad in arms, at home in studious kind,
Who seeks with painful toil, shall honour soonest find.
In woods, in waves, in wars, she wonts to dwell,
And will be found with peril and with pain;
Ne can the man, that moulds in idle cell,
Unto her happy mansion attain:
Before her gate high God did sweat ordain,
And wakeful watches ever to abide:
But easie is the way, and passage plain,
To pleasure's palace; it may soon be spide,
And day and night her doors to all stand open wide.

478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;]

Thus in the COMUS, V. 476.

How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
BUT MUSICAL, AS IS APOLLO'S LUTE,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets——

And, in a passage in his TRACTATE ON EDUCATION, cited by the late most able Editor of the JUVENILE POEMS, and exhibited also by Dr. Blair, in his LECTURES ON RHETORIC, as a sentence eminent for the admirable harmony of its structure, he says; "I shall not detain you longer in "the demonstration of what we should not do; "but strait conduct you to a hill-side, where I "will point ye out the right path of a virtuous "and noble education, laborious indeed at the first "ascent, but also so smooth, so green, so full of "goodly prospects and melodious sounds, that the "harp of Orpheus was not more charming."

480. —— *tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;*]

——— such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips in prose, or numerous verse,

What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire
Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes,)
And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing; and vouchsaf'd his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspir'd: disdain not such access to me.
To whom our Saviour, with unalter'd brow:
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

MORE TUNEABLE THAN NEEDED LUTE OR HARP
TO ADD MORE SWEETNESS.——————
PARADISE LOST, v. 149.

MORE TUNEABLE than lark to shepherd's ear;
Shakespeare, MIDS. N. D. Act I. Sc. 14.

482. —————————— *Most men admire*
Virtue, who follow not her lore:—]

Imitated from the well-known saying of Medea. Ovid MET. vii. 20.

—— Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor.
Newton.

487. —————————— *atheous*—]

Cicero, speaking of Diagoras, says, "qui "ATHEOS dictus est."
DE NAT. DEOR. i. 23.

488. *To tread his sacred courts,*—]

When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, TO TREAD MY COURTS?
Isaiah, i. 11. 12.

489. —————— *handling holy things,*]

Thus, 1 Cor. ix. 13.——*they which* MINISTER ABOUT HOLY THINGS.——

490. *Praying or vowing:*—]

Besides sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, the Jews had vow-sacrifices, (Lev. vii. 16.) oblations for vows, (xxii. 18.) and sacrifices in performing their vows (Numbers, xv. 3. 8.)

490. ———————— *and vouchsaf'd his voice*
To Balaam reprobate,—]

An argument more plausible and more fallacious could not have been put into the mouth of the Tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circumstances of this remarkable piece of Scripture history, and clearly to apprehend the judicious application of it by the poet in this place, we may refer to Bp. Butler's excellent Sermon on *the Character of Balaam*, or to Shuckford's account of it in the TWELFTH Book of his *Connection of Sacred and Prophane History*.

I bid

I bid not, or forbid; do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more.
He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
Into thin air diffus'd: for now began
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade

498. *His gray dissimulation,*—]

Satan is still under his assumed character of an *old* countryman.

—— an AGED man in rural weeds.

In our author's Latin poem *on the Fifth of November*, where also he introduces him under the disguise of an old Franciscan friar, it is said,

—— ASSUMPTIS micuerunt tempora CANIS,

which is equivalent to his *gray dissimulation* here.

499. *Into thin air diffus'd:*—]

So Virgil, ÆN. iv. 278.

Et procul IN TENUEM ex oculis EVANUIT AURAM.
Newton.

And Shakespeare,

—— these our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are MELTED INTO AIR, into THIN AIR.
TEMPEST, Act IV. Sc. 2.

499. —— *for now began*
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.]

This brief description of night coming on in the desert is singularly fine. It is a small but exquisite *sketch*, which so immediately shews the *hand of the master*, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher.

The commencement of this description, both in respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night which it represents, resembles much a passage in Tasso.

Cosi diss' egli;——e GIA la notte oscura
Havea tutti del giorno i raggi spenti;
iii. 71.

Thus he complain'd;—but now the sable shade,
Icleped night, had thick enveloped
The sun in vail of double darkness made.
Fairfax.

500. —— *her sullen wings*—]

Nox ruit, et FUSCIS tellurem amplectitur alis.
Virg. ÆN. viii. 369.

Thus also Manilius, speaking of the constellation Orion;

Quo fulgente super terras cœlumque trahente,
Ementita diem NIGRAS nox contrahit alas,
ASTRON. v. 59.

And Tasso describes night covering the sky *with her wings*.

Sorgea la notte in tanto, e SOTTO L' ALI
Recopriva del Cielo i campi immensi:
viii. 57.

But now the night dispread her lazy wings
O'er the broad fields of Heaven's bright wilderness.
Fairfax.

Spenser also, FAERY QUEEN, B. VI. C. viii. 44.

—— and now the even-tide
His BROAD BLACK WINGS had through the Heavens wide
By this dispread. ——

And ALLEGRO, 6.;

Where BROODING DARKNESS SPREADS HER JEALOUS WINGS.

500. —— —— —— —— *to double-shade*
The desert;—]

i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness of the place.——This is more fully expressed in Hogæus's translation of this passage.

Nam nunc obscuras nox atra expandere pennas
Cœperat atque NIGRAS NEMORUM GEMINARE TENEBRAS.

Thus

The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam *.

Thus in COMUS, the elder brother, when separated from his sister in the forest by night, addresses the moon;

——— thou fair moon,
That wont'st to love the traveller's benizon,
Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
And disinherit chaos, that reigns here
IN DOUBLE NIGHT OF DARKNESS AND OF SHADES;

In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton's edition of the *Juvenile Poems*, the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, (DE DIVINAT. i. 14.) is exhibited;

Tenebræ CONDUPLICANTUR, noctisque et nimborum
occæcat nigror.

We may also compare Ovid, MET. xi. 548.;

—— tanta vertigine pontus
Fervet, et inductâ piceis a nubibus umbrâ
Omne latet cœlum, DUPLICATAQUE NOCTIS IMAGO
EST.

And Ibid, 521.;

Cœcaque nox premitur TENEBRISQUE HYEMISQUE SUISQUE.

501. ——— *fowls in their clay nests were couch'd:*]

——— bird, and beast,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nest,
Were slunk.———

PARADISE LOST, iv. 600.

* That the PARADISE REGAINED has been considerably under-rated by the world, seems of late to be an opinion almost generally admitted. But perhaps we shall state the fact more correctly, if we say that it has been *neglected*, rather than *under-rated*, that it has been more *unknown*, than *not admired*. This is so much the case, that I apprehend some of the warmest panegyrics of the PARADISE LOST have never honored this Poem with a perusal; or only with a casual and most unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices against it.——A critic, whose taste, judgment, and candor are unquestioned, has given it absolutely *no place at all* among the Works of its Author. "If I might venture to place Milton's Works according "to their degrees of poetic excellence," says Dr. Joseph Warton, "it should be perhaps in the following "order, PARADISE LOST, COMUS, SAMSON AGONISTES, LYCIDAS, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO." *(See concluding note to the Lycidas, in Warton's Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems!)* I should hope that PARADISE REGAINED *slipped accidentally out of* the list: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has said of the COMUS, I do not hesitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified opinion, that "the Author is here inferior only to his own PARADISE LOST."

If we take this opportunity to re-consider this first Book, we shall find much to admire, and little to censure.

The Proposition of the Subject (Ver. 1.) is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line,

And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit (Ver. 8.) is equally devout and poetical. The Baptism of John (Ver. 18.) carries us with the best effect *in medias res*. Satan's Infernal Council (Ver. 40.) is briefly, but finely, assembled; his Speech is admirable; and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly contrasted by the succeeding beautiful description of the DEITY surrounded by his Angels; his Speech to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Cœlestial Choir.——Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is executed in so masterly a manner, that making allowance for a certain wish to *compress*, which is palpably visible, very few parts of the PARADISE LOST can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief description (Ver. 193.) of our Lord's entering

——— now

——— now the bordering desert wild,
And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,

And again, (Ver. 295.) where "looking round on every side he beholds"

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades,

are scenes worthy the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's Soliloquy (Ver. 196.) is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the PARADISE LOST, where the divine persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented, language. But the Poet seems to consider this circumstance of the Temptation, (if I may venture so to express myself,) as the last, perfect, completion of the *Initiation* of the man Jesus in the *mystery* of his own divine nature and office: at least he feels himself entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and "inshrined in fleshly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree, ανθρωπινως, or, *after the manner of men*. Accordingly all the speeches of our blessed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the divine speakers in any part of the PARADISE LOST. The ingrafting Mary's Speech (Ver. 230.) into that of her Son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The description (Ver. 303.) of the probable manner of our Lord's passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and the return of the wild beasts (Ver. 310.) to their Paradisiacal mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his assumed character (Ver. 314.); the deep art of his two first speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself (Ver. 357.); the subsequent detection of his fallacies (Ver. 407.), and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocrisy, on the part of our blessed Lord,—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this Book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style and harmony of numbers, that it may well be questioned whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superior to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of Night coming on in the Desert, has been particularly noticed in its place: it closes the Book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety: in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen Gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of the circumstance of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert.—Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

MEAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expresly call'd
Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar'd,

1. *Mean while the new baptiz'd, &c.*—]

The greatest, and indeed justest, objection to this Poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being confined to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his Temptation in the Desert, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part; a defect most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their most spirited speeches in the Paradise Lost.

Thyer.

4. *Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar'd,*]

This is a great mistake in the Poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist, and the voice from Heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promised Messiah.

Warburton.

But surely the declaration, *by the voice from Heaven*, of Jesus being *the beloved Son of God* was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the MESSIAH.—John the Baptist had also, *John*, i. 29, expressly called him *the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*, referring, as is generally supposed, to *Isaiah*, liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the same title, "*Behold the Lamb of God!*" (*John*, i. 36,) is the ground of Andrew's conversion, who thereupon followed Jesus, and having passed some time with him, declared to his brother Peter

And on that high authority had believ'd,
And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
With others though in holy writ not nam'd;
Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
(So lately found, and so abruptly gone,)
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days increas'd, increas'd their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only shewn,
And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moses was in the mount and missing long,
And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels

Peter, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ.* John, i. 41.

6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd*—]

These particulars are founded, (as Bp. Newton observes,) on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself,) *following Jesus* to the place *where he dwelt*, and *abiding with him that day*.

6. ——————————— *I mean*
Andrew and Simon—]

This sounds very prosaic; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the Orlando Furioso. Cant. 31. St. 46.

And calling still upon that noble name,
That often had the Pagans overcome,
(I MEAN Renaldo's house of Montalbane.)

And again, St. 55.

How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,
(I MEAN the cruel Pagan Rodomont.)

Newton.

13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only shewn,*]

Virg. Æn. VI. 870.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse sinent.

Newton.

14. ——————————— *as once*
Moses was in the mount, and missing long;]

And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

Exodus, xxxii. 1.

16. *And the great Thisbite*—]

Or *Tishbite*, as he is called in Scripture, 1 Kings, xvii. 1. Elijah, a native of Thisbe or Tishbe, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan.

Newton.

Milton, in one of his early Latin Poems, terms Elijah,

—— vates TERRÆ THESBITIDIS.——

EL. iv. 97.

16. —— *who*

THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come:
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these

16. ——————— *who on fiery wheels*
Rode up to Heaven—]

" —— *and behold there appeared a chariot of* " *fire and horses of fire, and parted them both* " *asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into* " *Heaven.*" 2 Kings, ii. 11.

Hence Milton, in his ELEGY *on the death of Felton, Bp. of Ely,*

Ad astra sublimis feror,
VATES UT OLIM RAPTUS AD CŒLUM SENEX
AURIGA CURRUS IGNEI.——

And, in his EPIGRAM *on the Gunpowder Plot:*

Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cœli,
Sulphureo curru, FLAMMIVOLISQUE ROTIS;
Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
Liquit Jordanios, turbine raptus, agros.

17. ——————— *yet once again to come*—]

It hath been the opinion of the Church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming, as well as before his first: and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi, iv. 5. *Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord*, &c. and from what our Saviour says, Mat. xvii. 11. *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.* These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, αποκαταστησει παντα, *and shall restore all things.* But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large, in Mr. Mede's Discourse XXV. which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian.

Newton.

Though our Saviour uses the word αποκαταστησει in the future tense, something must be previously understood to limit the sense of it to what was then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished. Bp. Pearce in his commentary on the passage has, " WAS TO COME first and restore all things." And Beza, in a note on the place, says, Hæc autem intelligenda sunt, forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac si diceret Christus, " Verum " quidem est quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet " antegressurum fuisse Messiam, et secuturæ in- " staurationi viam aperturum; sed dico vobis Eliam " jam venisse, &c."

It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the Christian Church, from those words of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in person before our Lord's second advent; which opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his commentary on *Tertullian* DE RESURRECT. CARN. C. 23. says, all the antient Fathers have delivered, *tradit tota Patrum antiquitas.*

18. *Therefore as those young prophets then with care*
Sought lost Elijah—]

2 Kings, ii. 15. 16. 17. *And when the sons of the prophets, which were to view at Jericho, saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him.—And they said unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty strong men, let them go, we pray thee, and seek thy master; lest peradventure the Spirit of the Lord hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send. —And when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send. They send therefore fifty men; and they sought three days, but found him not.*

19. ——————— *so in each place these*
Nigh to Bethabara—]

These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

John, i. 28.

Nigh

Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho 20
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

20. *Nigh to Bethabara—*]

It has been observed in a preceding Note (B. i. V. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. The same error I find in the Map annexed to the small Greek Testament published by Wetstein, in 1711, with Mills's Prolegomena prefixed. Adrichomius, in his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho, as it is expressly said, *Joshua*, iii. 16. *the people passed over right against Jericho.* The Eastern Travellers also shew that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock's Travels in the East, and Maundrel's Journal.) Bp. Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, *Judges*, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim *taking the waters*, (i. e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them *unto Bethbarah and Jordan.* Bethabara indeed (*John*, i. 28,) is described *beyond Jordan*, περαν τῦ Ιορδανῦ; but this Bp. Pearce reconciles by shewing that περαν often signifies in scripture, *on the side of*, or *on this side of*. For this construction of περαν, he cites many authorities in his note on *Mat.* iv. 15, and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on *John*, i. 28. But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders περαν τῦ Ιορδανῦ not *trans Jordanum*, but *secus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in *Mat.* iv. 15, and *John*, i. 28.——St. Jerom, *De Nominibus Hebræis*, speaks of Bethabara as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern, bank of the river Jordan.

20. ———— *in Jericho*
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,
Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa—]

Jericho is called *the city of palms*, Deut. xxxiv. 3. and Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers describe it as abounding with those trees. *Ænon* is mentioned, *John*, iii. 23, as is likewise *Salim* or *Salem*. But there appears to be no particular reason for our authors calling it *Salem old*, unless he takes it to be the same with the Shalem mentioned, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. or confounds it with the *Salem* where Melchizedek was king. *Machærus* was a castle in the mountainous part of *Peræa* or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of *Genezareth*, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place *on this side* Jordan, or in *Peræa*, περαν Ιορδανε, *beyond it.* *Newton.*

By the expression *on this side the broad lake Genezareth*, I would understand not *on the opposite side of the river to Peræa*, but *below the lake of Genezareth*, or *to the south of it*, between that and the Asphaltic Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood on *this side*, that is on the western side of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. *Or* in Peræa, may be only understood to mean *and* in Peræa, or *even* in Peræa. Such is often the conjunctive sense of *vel*, and sometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of η in Greek.——It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by Bp. Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our Author visited Geneva.——Accordingly the first

place

Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.
Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,

place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara, and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewise on the same side, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he seems to make them cross the river and seek him in all the places in the opposite country of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortress of Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, *De bello Jud.* L. 7. C. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, *Salem old.* Adrichomius, speaking of *Salem*, or *Salim*, says, Ex veteribus Hebræorum Rabbinis docet Hieronymus, non videri hanc esse Hierusalem, quod nomen ipsum demonstret ex græco hebraicoque compositum, sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem; ubi ostenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam de quo in posteriore parte Geneseos scriptum est: Venit Jacob in Soccoth, et transivit in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem. See *Hieronym. Epist. ad Evag.*—The Septuagint, Gen. xxxiii. 18. writes it εις Σαλημ.

23. ——— *the broad lake Genezaret,*]

The Lake of Genezaret, or Genezareth, through which the river Jordan ran, is computed by Josephus to be eighteen miles long, and five broad. It is described by Pliny as sixteen miles long, and six broad; Pococke likewise says it is fourteen or fifteen miles long. The same Author states its distance from the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea, to be about seventy-five miles. The adjoining country was beautiful and fertile: the waters of the lake were sweet and pleasant, and it abounded with a variety of fish. It was a common saying among the Jews, that God loved this more than all the other seas.

25. —— *on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,*
Where winds with reeds and osiers whisp'ring play,]

Dr. Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jerusalem, &c.* describes the river Jordan as having its banks in some parts covered so thick with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being seen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he says, several sorts of wild beasts harbor, which are frequently washed out of their covert by the sudden over-flowings of the river. Hence that allusion in Jeremiah, xlix. 19. "Behold, he shall "come up like a lion from the swelling of Jor-"dan."——The same Author also relates that, having gone from Jerusalem to visit that part of Judea, where it is supposed our blessed Lord was baptized, he proceeded towards the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea, in approaching to which he passed through a sort of coppice of bushes and reeds. And Joannes Phocas, *in Description. Locor. Sanctor*, as cited by Reland in his *Palestina*, speaking of the banks of the river Jordan, says, εν οις μεγα τι καλαμων χρημα εκφυεσθαι πεφυκεν. Εν τουτοις λεοντων φυλα ειωθασι κατοικειν.——in quibus magna vis arundinum nascitur. Has leonum cœtus inhabitare solent. Reland also says, "Salices, ta-"marisci, agnus castus, et cannæ ingentes, quæ "usum hastarum præbent, crescunt ad ripam ejus, "uti referunt αυτοπται. Illa arundineta ripam "Jordanis ita obsident, ut per ea aqua fluminis "vix conspici possit."——"*De la Valle*," (he adds,) "tradit se in istis arundinetis diu oberrâsse, "licet equo insidentem, quum accedere vellet ad "aquam Jordanis, et equitem in iis latere posse "ne conspiciatur."——Adrichomius describes a valley of reeds, on the western bank of the river, where the brook Cherith, divided into three streams, flows into Jordan, nearly opposite Mount Ephraim.

Giles Fletcher thus refers to the reedy banks of the river Jordan;

Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,
Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.
ALAS, from what high hope to what relapse
Unlook'd for are we fallen! our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth;

That heavenly voice I more delight to hear,
Than gentle airs to breathe, or swelling waves
Against the sounding rocks their bosoms tear,
Or WHISTLING REEDS that rutty JORDAN laves,
CHRIST'S TRIUMPH OVER DEATH, St. 2.

26. ——————— *whispering play*,]

The *whispering* of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful passages of his PARADISE LOST. In the opening of the FIFTH Book, where Adam wakens Eve in a speech of tenderest affection, his address to her is described as whispered with the softness of the gentle gale.

—— then with voice
Mild, AS WHEN ZEPHYRUS ON FLORA BREATHES,
Her hand soft touching, WHISPER'D thus.

He also applies whispering to the flowing of a stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the side of it; and to the combined sounds of the breeze and the current.

In the FOURTH Book of this Poem, he terms the river Ilyssus, a

—— WHISPERING stream.—

And, PARADISE LOST, iv. 325, he describes

—— a tuft of shade, that on a green
Stood WHISPERING SOFT BY A FRESH FOUNTAIN'S SIDE,

In his Lycidas, V. 136. likewise, he addresses the

—— valleys low, where the MILD WHISPERS USE
OF SHADES, AND WANTON WINDS, AND GUSHING BROOKS.

"The *mild whisper* of the refreshing breeze" he had before introduced in his Latin poem, IN ADVENTUM VERIS, V. 27.

Quaque jaces circum mulcebit LENE SUSURRANS
AURA.———

which might have been originally suggested to him by Virgil's CULEX, 152.

At circa passim fessæ cubuere capellæ,
Excelsisque super dumis; quos LENITER AFFLANS
AURA SUSURRANTIS possit confundere VENTI.

27. *Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)*]

Thus Spenser, in the beginning of his Shepherd's Calendar,

A shepherd's boy, (NO BETTER DO HIM CALL,)
Newton.

And, from him, Pope, in his SECOND Pastoral.

A shepherd's boy, (he seeks no better name,)
Led forth his flocks beside the silver Thame.

29. *Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.*]

Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
His bursting passion INTO PLAINTS THUS POUR'D.
PARADISE LOST, ix. 98.

30. *Alas, from what high hope to what relapse*
Unlook'd for are we fallen!—]

—— væ misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi!
Terent. HEAUTON. Act II. Sc. 2. 9.
Newton.

34. ——————— *full of grace and truth;*]

And

Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,
The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd;
Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
Into perplexity and new amaze:
For whither is he gone, what accident
Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
Thy chosen; to what highth their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of thee; arise and vindicate

And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, — — — FULL OF GRACE AND TRUTH. John, i. 14.

36. *The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd;*]

They are properly made to talk in the language, and according to the expectations of the Jews. *Lord, wilt thou at this time* RESTORE AGAIN THE KINGDOM TO ISRAEL? Acts, i. 6. *Newton.*

37. ——— *our joy is turn'd*
Into perplexity—]

When Mary Magdalene, and the other women, went on the first day of the week to the sepulchre with spices, but found not the body of Jesus, we read that, *they were* MUCH PERPLEXED. Luke, xxiv. 4.

40. *Hath rapt him from us?*—]

Mr. Warton, in his Note on IL PENSEROSO, V. 40, observes that Browne, in his PASTORALS, often uses the verb *to rape*.

Milton has often the participle *rapt*, which he might have borrowed from the Italian. Thus Berni, ORL. INAM. L. i. C. 25. 42.

"RAPITO in Paradiso."———

42. ——— *God of Israel,*
Send thy Messiah forth, &c.]

This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. *Newton.*

44. *Behold the kings of the earth; how they oppress*
Thy chosen—]

The KINGS OF THE EARTH *set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed.* Psalm ii. 2.

It is possible, that some allusion might be here intended to the situation of Milton's Party at the Restoration.

46. ——— *and behind them cast*
All fear of thee—]

Nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and CAST THY LAW BEHIND THEIR BACKS. Nehemiah, ix. 26.

Thy glory, free thy people from their yoke.
But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown
In public, and with him we have convers'd;
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his providence; he will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall,
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence;
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.
THUS they out of their plaints new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought:
But, to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others return'd from baptism, not her son,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.

51. ——————— *pointed at and shown*]

Should it not rather be *pointed* OUT? Though perhaps Milton had in his mind Persius, SAT. i. 28.

—— DIGITO MONSTRARI, et dicier hic est.

65. *Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.*]

It is hardly possible not to notice the striking beauty of this line. There is a passage somewhat resembling it in the PARADISE LOST, i. 620.

——————— at last
WORDS INTERWOVE WITH SIGHS found out their way.

65. ——————— *in sighs thus clad.*]

Thus Cicero; "Sententias reconditas exquisi-
"tasque mollis et pellucens VESTIEBAT oratio." DE CLAR. ORATOR. 274. Ed. Proust.

And again, "Concinnitas illa crebritasque sen-
"tentiarum pristina manebat; sed ea VESTITU
"ILLO ORATIONIS, quo consueverat, ornata non
"erat." IBID. 327.

A similar figure of speech occurs in a Sonnet of Drummond of Hawthornden, which is so eminently beautiful, for the age in which it was written, that I cannot forbear citing it entire.

Sweet bird, that sing'st away the early hours,
Of winters past, or coming, void of care,

Well

O what avails me now that honor high
To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
" Hail highly favor'd, among women blest?"
While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,
And fears as eminent, above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore;
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
From the bleak air; a stable was our warmth,
A manger his; yet soon enforc'd to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd

Well pleased with delights which present are,
Fair seasons, budding sprays, sweet-smelling flow'rs,
To rocks, to springs, to rills, from leafy bow'rs,
Thou thy Creator's goodness dost declare,
And what dear gifts on thee he did not spare;
A stain to human sense in sin that low'rs.
What soul can be so sick, which by thy songs
ATTIR'D IN SWEETNESS sweetly is not driven
Quite to forget earth's turmoils, spites and wrongs,
And lift a reverent eye and thought to heaven?
Sweet artless songster! thou my mind dost raise
To airs of spheres, yea and to Angels' lays.

66. *O what avails me now that honor high, &c.*—]

In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the Cross.

At non certe olim præpes demissus Olympo
Nuntius hæc pavidæ dederat promissa puellæ.
SIC UNA ANTE ALIAS FELIX EGO, SIC EGO CŒLI
INCEDO REGINA? MEA EST HÆC GLORIA MAGNA,
HIC MEUS ALTUS HONOS. Quo reges munera opima
Obtulerunt mihi post partus? Quo carmina læta
Cœlestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat
Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc visura, trahebam?
Felices illæ, NATOS QUIBUS IMPIUS HAUSIT
INSONTES REGIS FUROR IPSO IN LIMINE VITÆ,
Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum:
Ut cuperem te DILUVIO cecidisse sub illo!
Hos, HOS HORRIBILI MONITU TREPIDANTIA CORDA
TERRIFICANS SENIOR LUCTUS SPERARE JUBEBAT,
ET CECINIT FORE, CUM PECTUS MIHI FIGERET ENSIS:
Nunc altè mucro, nunc altè vulnus adactum.
CHRISTIAD. v. 870.

75. ——— *yet soon enforc'd to fly*
Thence into Egypt till the murderous king
Were dead who sought his life, and missing fill'd
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;]

We may compare the following Stanza of Giles Fletcher's CHRIST'S VICTORY IN HEAVEN.

And yet but newly he was infanted,
And yet already he was sought to die;
Yet scarcely born, already banished,
Not able yet to go, and FORC'D TO FLY;
But scarcely fled away, when by and by
The Tyrant's sword with blood is all defil'd,
And Rachel, for her sons with fury wild,
Cries, "O thou cruel king!" and, "O my sweetest child!"

With

With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;
From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king; but now,
Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for some great change; to honor? no,
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce; this is my favor'd lot,

79. ——————— *in Nazareth*
Hath been our dwelling many years;—]

She mentions this as part of their distress, because the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the most despised part of Palestine, despised by the Jews themselves: and therefore Nathaniel asketh Philip, *John*, i. 46. *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* *Newton.*

This passage does not strike me exactly in the same light as it does Bp. Newton. All this description of the early private life of our Saviour seems rather designed to contrast and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where she says,

——— but now,
Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for some great change. ———

80. ——————— *his life*
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king—]

Very possibly not without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after the Restoration.

88. *That to the fall and rising he should be*
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce—]

And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his Mother, Behold this child is set FOR THE FALL AND RISING AGAIN OF MANY IN ISRAEL; *and* FOR A SIGN WHICH SHALL BE SPOKEN AGAINST: *(yea* A SWORD SHALL PIERCE THROUGH THY OWN SOUL *also) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.*
Luke, ii. 34. 35.

91. *A sword shall pierce*—]

By a like metaphor it is said in 1 Tim. vi. 10. *some have pierced themselves through with many sorrows;* and in Homer, Il. E. 399. we have the same kind of expression,

——— οδυνησι πεπαρμενος.

To which may be added that of Josephus ANTIQ. viii, 8. 3. πληγεντες ὑπο των λογων, ὡς ὑπο σιδηρου, "wounded

My exaltation to afflictions high;
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent
Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,
I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
He could not lose himself, but went about
His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,

"wounded with the words, as with a sword." (See Bp. Pearce's note on Luke, ii. 35.)

Thus also, Psalm xlii. 10. AS WITH A SWORD IN MY BONES MINE ENEMIES REPROACH ME, *while they say daily unto me, where is thy God?*

91. ——————— *this is my favor'd lot,*
My exaltation to afflictions high;]

These are the afflictions that Mary notices; not the circumstances of dwelling in a disreputable place, but her anxiety about her son, and what she then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his account.

93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest:*
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent
Conceals him—]

How charmingly does Milton here verify the character he had before given of the Blessed Virgin in the lines above!

Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head.

We see at one view the piety of the saint, and the tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now?* breaking in so abruptly upon the composed resignation expressed in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resigned character again in these words ——*some great intent conceals him.* *Thyer.*

94. *I will not argue that—*]

This is seemingly with a view to the sense of *arguo* in Latin, to *blame, reprehend, accuse.*

97. *I lost him, but so found, as well I saw*
He could not lose himself—]

This is one of those sentiments so expressed, as, according to Mr. Addison, to *degenerate* into a Pun. This Poem, (even considering its proportionate length,) is less censurable in this respect than the Paradise Lost. But though these blemishes are rare, they are, when they occur, extremely offensive. *Ubi plura nitent in carmine,* great allowance must be made for parts that are feeble and less perfect; but, in proportion as we admire and venerate the Poet, we grieve to find him, even for a moment, thus *losing himself.*

98. ——————— *but went about*
His Father's business—]

"*And he said unto them, How is it that ye* "*sought me? Wist ye not that I must be* ABOUT "MY FATHER'S BUSINESS? Luke, ii. 49.

99. ——————— *what he meant I mus'd,*]

The verb *to muse* is thus used in our translation of the Scripture;

—*I was afraid of her, and* MUSED *what it might be.* 2 Esdras, x. 25.

—*And all men* MUSED *in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not;*
Luke, iii. 15

Thus

Since understand; much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
My heart hath been a store-house long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.
THUS Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended, and at once

Thus also Spenser,

And as she look'd about she did behold,
How over that same door was likewise writ,
Be bold, be bold, and every where *be bold*,
That much she MUS'D, yet could not construe it
By any riddling skill, or common wit.
FAERY QUEEN, B. III. C. xi. 54.

And Shakespeare,

——— I cannot too much MUSE
Such shapes, such gestures, &c.———
TEMPEST, Act III. Sc. 2.

100. ——————————— *his absence now*
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.]

——— O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
OBSCUR'D.———
PARADISE LOST, ix. 1084.

103. *My heart hath been a storehouse long of things*
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.]
Thus Mary pondering oft, &c. &c.—]

Alluding to what is said of her, Luke, ii. 19. *But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart:* and again, ver. 51. *but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart:* so consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture. *Newton.*

107. ——————————— *with thoughts*
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:]

This is beautifully expressed.—There is a passage somewhat similar, in PARADISE LOST, xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded what he had to shew Adam from the mountain, and what he had further to inform him of in narration there, says they must now descend from this "top of specula-"tion;" and, bidding Adam *go waken Eve*, adds

Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and ALL HER SPIRITS COMPOS'D
TO MEEK SUBMISSION.———

110. ——— *with holiest meditations fed,*]

Mr. Thyer notices the similarity of this expression with that in PARADISE LOST, iii. 37.

Then FEED ON THOUGHTS that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers.———

111. *Into himself descended—*]

Ut nemo IN SESE tentat DESCENDERE!
Pers. SAT. iv. 23.
Newton.

All

All his great work to come before him set;
How to begin, how to accomplish best
His end of being on earth, and mission high:
For Satan, with sly preface to return,
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his potentates in council sat;
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
Solicitous and blank, he thus began.

PRINCES, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones;
Demonian Spirits now, from the element

117. *Up to the middle region of thick air,*]

Satan, in the first Book of this Poem, had assembled his infernal Council

——— in mid air,
Within THICK CLOUDS AND DARK tenfold involv'd.—

40.

119. *There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,*]

In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, PARADISE LOST, x. 460.

120. *Solicitous—*]

Solicitous seems here used under a recollection of the definition given by Cicero of *Solicitudo*, which he terms *Ægritudo cum cogitatione*.

TUSC. QUÆST. iv. 8.

120. *Solicitous and blank,—*]

Thus in the PARADISE LOST, ix. 888.

——— Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,
ASTONIED, STOOD AND BLANK.———

And in our Poet's early Version of the SIXTH Psalm.

Mine enemies shall all be BLANK, and dash'd
With much confusion;———

122. *Demonian Spirits now, from the element*
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,]

It was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul: εισι δε και αλλοι δαιμονες, ὡς και καλοιη αν τις γεννητως θεως, καθ' εκαστον των στοιχειων, οἱ μεν ὁρατοι, οἱ δε αορατοι, εν τε αιθερι, και πυρι, αερι τε, και ὑδατι, ὡς μηδεν κοσμου μερος ψυχης αμοιρον ειναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonic doctrines says, cap. 5.—Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of Spirits, (as we observed in a note upon the Paradise Lost, i. 423,) speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses: πολλα δαιμονων γενη, και παντοδαπα τας ιδιας και τα σωματα· ὡς ειναι πληρη μεν τον αερα, τον τε ὑπερθεν ἡμων και τον περι ἡμας· πληρη δε γαιαν και θαλατταν, και τας μυχαιτατας και βυδιας [βυθιας] τοπους, p. 41, and he divides them into six kinds, the

Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,
(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble,) such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence was impower'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
Far other labor to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of Men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,

fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous: το διαπυρον, το αεριον, το χθοινον, το ὑδραιον τε και εναλιον, το ὑποχθονιον, το μισοφαες και δυσαισθητον. p. 45. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth.

Newton.

In the FOURTH Book of this Poem, V. 201, the Demons are described

Tetrarchs OF FIRE, AIR, FLOOD, AND ON THE EARTH, &c.

And in the PENSEROSO, V. 93.

And of those DEMONS that are found
IN FIRE, AIR, FLOOD, OR UNDER GROUND,
Whose power hath a true consent
With planet, or with element.

Mr. Warton supposes that Shakespeare alludes to these Demons, when, in his HAMLET, speaking of the crowing of the cock, he says,

——— at his warning,
Whether in SEA, or FIRE, in EARTH, or AIR,
The extravagant and erring spirit flies
To his CONFINE.———

129. ——— *and with the vote*
Consenting in full frequence was impower'd,]

In reference to what was said in the preceding Book, V. III.

Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprize
To him, their great dictator,———

130. ——— *in full frequence*—]

Milton, in his History of England, has said, The assembly was *full and frequent:* and in Paradise Lost, i. 797. the council of Devils was *frequent and full.* Here the adjective is formed into a substantive, as in B. i. 128: and Shakespeare uses it in the same manner, Timon, Act V. Sc. 3.

Tell Athens, in the FREQUENCE of degree,
From high to low throughout.———

Newton.

131. ——— *tasted him*—]

This is a Græcism. Γευομαι signifies not only *gusto,* but likewise *experior, periculum facio.*

However

However to this man inferior far;
If he be man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.

135. *However to this man inferior far;*
If he be man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, &c. &c.—]

I have ventured here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Bp. Newton's, stands pointed thus:

However to this man inferior far,
If he be man by mother's side at least,
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c.

On this Mr. Calton observes: "The Tempter "had no doubt of Christ's being *a man by the* "*mother's side;* but the want of a comma in its "due place after *If he be man,* hath puzzled both "the sense and the construction. *He is* must be "understood at the end of the verse, to support "the syntax;

If he be man, by mother's side at least *(he is)*"

Bp. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus: "Satan had heard Jesus declared from "Heaven, and knew him to be Son of God; and "now, after the trial he had made of him, he "questions if he be man *even* by the mother's "side,"

If he be man by mother's side at least,

He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirits that may lessen, but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist.

It seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Bp. Newton certainly sees it in its true light: but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted; and which I think most probably to have been intended by Milton.

137. *With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,*
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.]

Many lines of the Paradise Regained have been censured as harsh and inharmonious; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer,) by shewing that they are very far from being of that kind *quas incuria fudit,* and that many of them are peculiarly expressive, and were purposely designed as such by the Poet.—The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation. They are indeed so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste.—Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significancy of the expression *amplitude of mind;* which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in TULLY'S TUSC. DISPUT. ii. 25. *Hoc igitur tibi propone,* AMPLITUDINEM ET QUASI QUANDAM EXAGGERATIONEM QUAM ALTISSIMAM ANIMI, *quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam.*

Milton, in a Chorus of the SAMSON AGONISTES, V. 1279, describes the "deliverer," who shall "quell the mighty of the earth," and overthrow "tyrannic power,"

With plain heroic MAGNITUDE OF MIND
And celestial vigor arm'd,

Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here; I summon all
Rather to be in readiness, with hand
Or counsel to assist; lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.
So spake the old Serpent doubting, and from all
With clamor was assur'd their utmost aid
At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,
The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advis'd.

140. ——————— *lest confidence*
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here—]

In his speech to the infernal council, in *the preceding* Book, Satan had augured well of his present enterprise, from his former success against man:

I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam, and the exploit perform'd
Successfully; a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way, found prosperous once,
Induces best to hope of like success.

147. ——— *the old serpent*—]

——— *that* OLD SERPENT, *called the Devil, and Satan.* Revelat. xii. 9. & xx. 2.

150. *Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,*
The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus—]

I have heard these three lines objected to as harsh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very smoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgment so contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for some time upon that word in each verse, which most strongly expresses the character described, viz. *dissolutest, sensuallest, fleshliest.* This has a very good effect by impressing the idea more strongly upon the mind, and contributes even in some measure to increase our aversion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of detestation to the very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read. *Thyer.*

The character of Belial is given nearly in the same manner, in the PARADISE LOST, i. 490.

Belial came last, THAN WHOM A SPIRIT MORE LEWD
FELL NOT FROM HEAVEN.———

151. ——————— *after Asmodai,*
The fleshliest Incubus—]

The character of Belial in the Paradise Lost, and the part he sustains there, sufficiently shew how

SET women in his eye, and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found;
Many are in each region passing fair
As the noon sky; more like to Goddesses
Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
Expert in amorous arts, inchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,
Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw

how properly he is introduced upon the present occasion. He is here said to be the *fleshliest Incubus after Asmodai*; or *Asmadai*, as it is written, PARADISE LOST, vi. 365; or *Asmodeus*, iv. 168, the lustful Angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and destroyed her seven husbands, as we read in the book of Tobit. *Newton.*

153. *Set women in his eye, &c.*]

As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it could not with any propriety have been proposed to our Saviour; it is much more fitly made the subject of debate among the wicked spirits themselves. All that can be said in praise of the power of beauty, and all that can be alledged to depreciate it, is here summed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have seen in any other author. *Newton.*

This speech of Belial finely exemplifies what is said of him, PARADISE LOST, ii. 112.

——— his tongue
Dropp'd manna.———

155. *Many are in each region passing fair*
As the noon sky, &c. &c.]

Mr. Warton, in a note on Milton's *first* ELEGY, (V. 53.) cites from this place to V. 168, inclusive; and terms the lines exquisite.

155. ———————— *passing fair*]

Thus Romeo, in commendation of his mistress, when Benvolio charges him with being in love:

Shew me a mistress that is PASSING FAIR;
What doth her beauty serve, but as a note
Where I may read who PASS'D this PASSING FAIR.
ROMEO AND JULIET, Act I. Sc. 2.
Newton.

156. ———————— *more like to Goddesses*
Than mortal creatures, &c.]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, xi. 614.

——— that fair female troop, that seem'd
Of Goddesses so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
— — — — — — — — —
Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and droll the tongue, and roll the eye.

159. ——— *virgin majesty with mild*
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,]

Possibly suggested by Claudian's

Miscetur decori virtus, PULCHERQUE SEVERO
ARMATUR TERRORE PUDOR.———
CONS. PROB. ET OLYB. 91.

Thus also, PARADISE LOST, ix. 489.

——— divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, THOUGH TERROR BE IN LOVE
AND BEAUTY, not approach'd by stronger hate.—

161. *Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw*
Hearts after them—]

In

Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire, and lead

In the same manner Milton, in his description of Eve, PARADISE LOST, viii. 504.

Not obvious, not obtrusive, but RETIR'D,
THE MORE DESIRABLE.——

Thyer.

162. —— *tangled in amorous nets.*]

Milton, in his first ELEGY, V. 60, speaks of the

Aurea quæ FALLAX RETIA TENDIT AMOR.

And, PARADISE LOST, xi. 585.

The men, though grave, ey'd them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, 'till IN THE AMOROUS NET
FIRST CAUGHT they lik'd; and each his liking chose.

Thus also Spenser, SONNET 37.

Is it that men's frail eyes, which are too bold,
She may ENTANGLE in that golden snare,
And being caught MAY CRAFTILY ENFOLD
THEIR WEAKER HEARTS, which are not well aware?
Take care therefore, mine eyes, how ye do stare
Henceforth too rashly on THAT GUILEFUL NET,
In which if ever ye entrapped are,
Out of her hands ye by no means shall get.

And Shakespeare, HENRY VIII. Act III. Sc. 2.

I do, quoth he, perceive
My King is TANGLED in affections to
A creature of the Queen's, Lady Anne Bullen.

163. *Such object hath the power to soften and tame*
Severest temper, &c. &c.]

Probably in this place Milton had the following stanza of his favorite Spenser in his mind.

Naught under Heaven so strongly doth allure
The sense of man, and all his mind possess,
As beauty's lovely bait, that doth procure
Great warriors oft their rigor to repress,
And mighty hands forget their manliness;
Drawn with the power of an heart-robbing eye,
And wrapt in fetters of a golden tress,
That can with melting pleasance mollify
Their harden'd hearts enur'd to blood and cruelty.

FAERY QUEEN, B. v. C. 8. 1.

164. —— *smooth the rugged'st brow,*

Thus in the PENSEROSO, 58.

—— SMOOTHING THE RUGGED BROW of night.

And in the opening of Shakespeare's RICHARD III,

Grim visag'd war hath SMOOTH'D HIS WRINKLED FRONT.——

In some verses of Diphylus, a writer of the later Greek Comedy, which are preserved in Athenæus, the same effect is ascribed to the God of wine, which is here attributed to beauty;

τον τας οφρυς αιρονλα συμπειθεις γελαν.

In the same manner, Horace in one of his Odes, that exhorts to conviviality;

Dumque virent genua,
Et decet, OBDUCTA SOLVATUR FRONTE SENECTUS,
Tu vina, Torquate, move
Consule pressa meo.

EPOD. xiii. 6.

166. *Draw out with credulous desire*—]

This beautiful expression was formed partly upon Horace's

—— spes ANIMI CREDULA MUTUI.——

L. 4. ODE i. 30.

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a passage in the ANDRIA of Terence, Act IV. Sc. 1. 23.

— non tibi satis esse hoc visum solidum est gaudium,
Nisi me lactasses amantem, et falsâ spe PRODUCERES?

Newton.

Credulous might have been suggested by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himself has translated.

Qui nunc te fruitur CREDULUS aureâ,
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem

Sperat,

At will the manliest, resolutest breast,
As the magnetic hardest iron draws.
Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart

Sperat, nescius auræ
Fallacis.——

L. 1. Ode v. 9.

168. *As the magnetic*—]

It should be the *magnet*, or *magnetic stone*. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive. *Newton.*

168. *As the magnetic hardest iron draws.*]

Lucian hath this simile in his IMAGINES, Vol. II. p. 2. Ed. Græv. Ει δε κακεινη προσβλεψειε σε, τις εσαι μηχανη αποσηναι αυτης; απαξει γαρ σε αιωδησαμενη ενθα αν εθελη, ὁπερ και ὁ λιθος η ἡρακλια δρα τον σιδηρον. "But if the fair one once look upon you, what is "it that can get you from her? She will draw "you after her at pleasure, bound hand and foot, "just as the loadstone draws iron." We may observe that Milton, by restraining the comparison to the power of beauty over the wisest men and the most stoical tempers, hath given it a propriety, which is lost in a more general application.

Calton.

Thus Claudian, in his IDYLLIUM on the Magnet,

—— Venerem MAGNETICA GEMMA figurat.

Having very poetically described the powers of the Magnet, he concludes his little Poem in a manner that possibly might have suggested to Milton some of the preceding lines.

—— Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes?
Flagrat anhela silex, et amicam saucia sentit
Materiem, placidosque Chalybs cognoscit amores.
Sic VENUS HORRIFICUM BELLI COMPESCERE REGEM,
ET VULTU MOLLIRE SOLET, cum sanguine præceps
Æstuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.
Sola feris occurrit equis, SOLVITQUE TUMOREM
PECTORIS, ET BLANDO PRÆCORDIA TEMPERAT IGNI.
Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnasque calentes
Deserit, et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.
Quæ tibi, sæve puer, non est permissa potestas?
Tu magnum superas fulmen, cœloque relicto
Fluctibus in mediis cogis mugire Tonantem.
Jam gelidas rupes, vivoque carentia sensu
Membra feris: jam saxa tuis obnoxia telis,
Et lapides suus ardor agit, ferrumque tenetur
Illecebris; rigido regnant in marmore flammæ.

42.

169. *Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart*
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow to the Gods of his wives.]

For it came to pass when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods: and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father.—For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. — — — — Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem; and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon. And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods.

1 Kings, xi. 4. 5. 7. 8.

In the FIRST Book of PARADISE LOST, where the Poet gives a catalogue of the fallen spirits, under the names of the idols worshipped in Canaan, and in the countries adjoining, speaking of ASTRAEE, the goddess of the Phœnicians and the Sidonians, he describes her,

In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on the offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul.——

442.

Spenser, in the beginning of the EIGHTH Canto of the FIFTH Book of his FAERY QUEEN, where he speaks of the power of Beauty in seducing men to any weak or improper conduct, instances the examples of Samson, Hercules, and Antony.—That of Solomon is here more in point, as he was led by it to the worshipping of false Deities.

Of

Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the Gods of his wives.
To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself; because of old
Thou thyself doat'dst on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,

178. *Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,*
False titled sons of Gods, roaming the earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them,—]

It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, Gen. vi. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.* See Paradise Lost, iii. 463, and V. 447. But though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shews elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain.

To these that sober race of men, whose lives
Religious titled them the sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of these fair atheists.

PARADISE LOST, xi. 621.

Newton.

182. *Have we not seen, or by relation heard,*]

This passage is censured by Bp. Warburton, as suiting only the Poet speaking in his own person; but surely there is no impropriety in the Arch-Fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the Heathen Mythology, and the amours and adventures of their Gods, or, (according to Milton's system,) his own infernal Compeers.—If we censure this passage, we must still more decisively condemn one in the FOURTH Book; where, in answer to Satan's speech, describing, while he shews it, the splendor of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the subject, carries on the description to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verse in a parenthesis,

For I have also HEARD, perhaps HAVE READ—

183. *In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,*]

Thus

In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
In valley or green meadow, to way-lay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

Thus Milton, in his description of Belial, PARADISE LOST, i. 497;

IN COURTS AND PALACES he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities,———

184. *In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,*
In valley or green meadow,—]

Thus, in Shakespeare's MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, Act II. Sc. 1. Puck, speaking of Oberon and Titania, says

And now they never meet IN GROVE, OR GREEN,
BY FOUNTAIN CLEAR, or spangled star-light sheen,—

Mossy fountain is from Virgil, ECL. vii. 45.

MUSCOSI FONTES, et somno mollior herba,—

Whence Pope, in his *second* PASTORAL;

O deign to visit our forsaken seats,
The MOSSY FOUNTAINS, and the green retreats!

And again, in his MESSIAH;

The MOSSY FOUNTAINS and the sylvan shades,
The dreams of Pindus and the Aonian maids,
Delight no more———

186. ——— *Calysto, Clymene,*
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx,—]

All these mistresses of the Gods might have been furnished from Ovid; who is said to have been our Author's favourite Latin Poet. Indeed that he was so at an early period of life, appears from Milton's frequent imitations of him, in his juvenile Latin Poems.——For *Calisto*, see Ovid. MET. ii. 409. & FAST. ii. 155.—For *Clymene*, the Mother of *Phaeton*, MET. i. *ad finem.*——*Daphne*; MET. i. 452.—*Semele*; MET. iii. 253.—*Antiopa*; MET. vi. 110.—*Amymone*; EPIST. xix. 131. & I. AMOR. x. 5.—*Syrinx*; MET. i. 690.

The story of Calisto is recorded also by Milton's favourite Tragic Poet, Euripides.

Ὦ μακαρ Αρκαδια πολε παρθενε
Καλλιστοι, Διος ἁ λεχεων επε-
-βας, τετραβαμοσι γυιοις
Ὡς πολυ ματρος εμᾶς ελαχες πλεον.
Euripid. HELEN. 381.

Happy Calisto, thou Arcadian nymph,
That didst ascend the couch of Jove; transform'd
To a four-footed savage, far more blest
Art thou, than she to whom I owe my birth.
Wodhull.

And Semele is mentioned in his HYPPOLITUS, v. 456.

Ὅσοι μεν οὖν γραφας τε των παλαιτερων
Εχουσιν, αυτοι τ' εισιν εν μουσαις αει,
Ισασι μεν, Ζευς ὡς ποθ' ηρασθη γαμων
Σεμελης.———

They who with ancient writings have convers'd,
And ever dwell among the tuneful Nine,
Know how to Theban Semele's embrace
Flew amorous Jove.——

Wodhull.

The story of Antiopa, or Antiope, is recorded likewise by Propertius, (L. iii. EL. 14.) a Poet whom (as Mr. Warton observes) Milton has occasionally imitated. Antiope is also mentioned in a Greek Epigram, in the Anthologia, where four of Jupiter's principal amours, and the disguises under which he accomplished them, are recited with the usual Greek Epigrammatic brevity.

Ζευς, Κυκνος, Ταυρος, ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ, χρυσος δι' ερωτης
Ληδης, Ευρωπης, ΑΝΤΙΟΠΗΣ, Δαναης.

Justin Martyr, in his FIRST Apology, having spoken of the gross fables of heathenism, says, "we Christians dedicate ourselves to the service

Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190

" of the unbegotten, impassible God; who never
" had, we are sure, ANY AFFAIR WITH ANTIOPE
" or such like."

Reeves's Translation.

188. ——— *many more*
Too long,—]

A concise way of speaking for *many more too long to mention*. The author had used it before. Paradise Lost, iii. 473. Indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the Gods. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry.

Newton.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from Prose, may be defined *elevated and ornamented language*. Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions and classical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historic facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A *divine* poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament: but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the Poet shews the perfection of his taste and judgment, as much as in any other circumstance whatever: and Milton has eminently distingued himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his Paradise Lost with the flowers of Classic Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent, that the most religiously delicate ear can not but be captivated with it.——I confess my surprise that Bp. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but absolutely as one of those *loci laudandi* which the best critics ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, to Belial and " his lusty crew;" and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed. He furnishes even " the school-boy" with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which admirably relieve and adorn his divine Poem.

189. ——— *thy scapes*—]

This is a Gallicism. *Echappée* in French signifies a *prank* or *frolic*. Boyer explains it *l'action imprudente d'un jeune homme*.

190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,*]

Calisto, *Semele*, and *Antiopa*, were mistresses to Jupiter; *Clymene* and *Daphne* to *Apollo;* and *Syrinx* to *Pan*.——Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms; Παντες οἱ θεοι των εθνων δαιμονια. Psalm xcvi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, *Quoniam omnes Dii gentium dæmonia.)* And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr *See* Apol. i. P. 10. & 33. Edit. Thirlbii.

Newton.

190. ——— *Pan,*
Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan?—]

Unless

Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
Delight not all; among the sons of men,
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
All her assaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conqueror,
A youth, how all the beauties of the east
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;
How he sirnam'd of Africa dismiss'd,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.

Unless the Goddess that in rural shrine
Dwell'st here with PAN, OR SYLVAN,——
COMUS, 267.

Milton notices all these rural Demi-gods and their amours, in his beautiful Latin Elegy, IN ADVENTUM VERIS.

Nunc etiam Satyri, cum sera crepuscula surgunt,
Pervolitant celeri florea rura choro,
Sylvanusque sua cyparissi fronde revinctus,
Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper.
Quæque sub arboribus Dryades latuere vetustis,
Per juga, per solos expatiantur agros.
Per sata luxuriat fruticetaque Mænalius Pan,
Vix Cybele mater, vix sibi tuta Ceres;
Atque aliquam cupidus prædatur Oreada Faunus,
Consulit in trepidos dum sibi nympha pedes;
Jamque latet, latitansque cupit male tecta videri,
Et fugit, et fugiens pervelit ipsa capi.

191. —————— *But these haunts*
Delight not all;—]

NON OMNES arbusta JUVANT.——
Virg. ECL. iv. 2.

196. *Remember that Pellean conqueror,*]

Alexander the Great was born at *Pella* in Macedonia: his continence and clemency to Darius's queen, and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are commended by the historians. Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet, &c. Quint. Curt. Lib. iii. Cap. 9. He was then a young conqueror, of about twenty-three years of age, *a youth*, as Milton expresses it.
Newton.

196. —— *that Pellean conqueror,*
A youth,—]

Unus PELLÆO JUVENI non sufficit orbis.
Juvenal, Sat. x. 168.

197. —— *how all the beauties of the east*
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;]

Alexander, we know from history, did *not* "slightly overpass all the beauties of the East."

199. *How he sirnam'd of Africa dismiss'd,*
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.]

The continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generosity in restoring a beautiful Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors. *Newton.*

For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full
Of honor, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:
But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye

204. *Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd:*]
Spenser has

—— BEAUTY's lovely BAIT.——
F. Q. B. v. C. 8. 1.

The whole Stanza has already been cited. See Note on V. 163, of this Book.

205. *But he whom we attempt is wiser far*
Than Solomon,—]

Behold A GREATER THAN SOLOMON *is here.*—
Mat. xii. 42.

206. —————— *of more exalted mind,*
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things.—]

Thus in our Saviour's soliloquy in the FIRST Book.

—— all my mind was SET
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good.——————
203.

And again,

——— yet this not all
To which my Spirit aspir'd; victorious deeds
Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
'Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd.
214.

210. *On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye*
Of fond desire?—]

This *eye of fond desire* is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. Suppl. ver. 1011.

Και παρθενων χλιδαισιν ευμορφοις επι
Πας τις παρελθων ομματος θελκτηριον
Τοξευμ' επεμψεν, ἱμερῳ νικωμενος.
Thyer.

I subjoin the translation of the passage of Æschylus from Mr. Potter;

And on the delicate tints, that kindling glow
On beauty's vermeil cheek, each roving youth
With melting wishes darts the amorous glance.

The EYE OF FOND DESIRE was perhaps suggested by an old Dialogue Poem, written by the Earl of Oxford in Queen Elizabeth's time, and printed in the second Volume of Bp. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, p. 178. It is there entitled FANCY AND DESIRE. *Fancy* is the questioner, and *Desire* the respondent.

F. Come hither shepherd swayne!
D. Sir what do you require?
F. I pray thee, shew to me thy name.
D. My name is FOND DESIRE.

And, in a following Stanza;

F. What thing doth please thee most?
D. TO GAZE ON BEAUTY still.

Of

Of fond desire? Or should she, confident
As sitting queen ador'd on beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, (as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell,)
How would one look from his majestic brow,

211. ——— *or should she, confident*
As sitting queen ador'd on beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour,—]

This is clearly from the same *pallette* and *pencil* as the following highly coloured passage.

With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
Not unattended, for ON HER AS QUEEN
A POMP OF WINNING GRACES WAITED STILL,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.
PARADISE LOST, viii. 59.

214. ——— *(as the zone of Venus once*
Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell,)]

Ἡ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα,
Ποικίλον· ἔνθα δὲ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
Ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς,
Παρφασις, ἡ τ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.
Iliad. xiv. 214.

She said. With awe divine the queen of love
Obey'd the sister and the wife of Jove:
And from her fragrant breast the zone unbrac'd,
With various skill and high embroidery grac'd.
In this was every art, and every charm,
To win the wisest, and the coldest warm:
Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay desire,
The kind deceit, the still-reviving fire,
Persuasive speech, and more persuasive sighs,
Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes.
Pope.

215. ——— *so fables tell,*]

The words *so fables tell* look as if the Poet had forgot himself, and spoke in his own person rather than in the character of Satan. *Newton.*

Giles Fletcher, in his CHRIST'S TRIUMPH ON EARTH, where he describes the Garden of *Panglory*, and represents the victims of her power as held in captivity by her, and changed to beasts, thus refers to the fable of Circe in Homer's Odyssey;

Once men they liv'd, but now the men were dead
And turn'd to beasts; SO FABLED HOMER OLD
That Circe, with her potion charm'd in gold,
Us'd manly souls in beastly bodies to immould.
Stanza, 49.

216. ——— *one look from his majestic brow,*
Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,]

Here is the construction that we often meet with in Milton: from his majestic brow, that is, from the majestic brow *of him* seated as on the top of virtue's hill: and the expression of *virtue's hill* was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the virtues are placed in the table of Cebes, or the arduous ascent up the hill to which virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of *the judgment of Hercules.* *Newton.*

Milton's meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in Shakespeare; which most probably he had in his mind.—Hamlet, in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

See what a GRACE was SEATED ON THAT BROW!
Hyperion's curls, the FRONT of Jove himself;
An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c.

Thus also, in LOVE'S LABOUR LOST,

What peremptory eagle-sighted eye,
Dares look upon THE HEAVEN OF HER BROW,
That is not BLINDED BY HER MAJESTY?
Act III. Sc. 4.

216. ——— *his majestic brow,*]

"Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe," says Bentley, "are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the *forehead.* So, PARADISE LOST, ix. 537, Satan to Eve,

——— nor

Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,
Discountenance her despis'd, and put to rout
All her array; her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe! for beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,

——— nor have fear'd
Thy AWFUL BROW, more awful thus retir'd———

And, vii. 509.

——— and upright WITH FRONT SERENE
GOVERN the rest.———————

And Spenser's Belphœbe,

Her ivory FOREHEAD FULL OF BOUNTY BRAVE
Like a broad table did itself dispread,
All GOOD AND HONOUR might therein be read,
And there THEIR DWELLING was.———"

Such is Bentley's note, where he wishes to *correct* the following generally, and justly, admired passage in the PARADISE LOST, viii. 557, by reading *forehead* instead of *loveliest*.

Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest———

Perhaps it would have been more acceptable, had it been given, only to *illustrate* another passage scarcely less beautiful:

His fair large FRONT and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule.———————

PARADISE LOST, iv. 300.

219. ——————— *her female pride deject,*
Or turn to reverent awe!—]

Thus in COMUS, V. 450, we have,

——— rigid looks of chaste austerity,
And noble grace, that dash'd brute violence,
With sudden adoration and BLANK AWE.

220. ——————————— *for beauty stands*
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive;—]

Among Milton's early Latin Elegies we find one (the SEVENTH) of the amatory kind. But when he published his Latin Poems, eighteen years afterwards, he thought it necessary to add to it ten lines apologising for the puerile weakness, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could admit such an impression.

221. *In the admiration only of weak minds*
Led captive;—]

The expression is from 2 Tim. iii. 6. 7.——*of this sort are they which creep into houses, and* LEAD CAPTIVE SILLY WOMEN *laden with sins, led away with divers lusts; ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

222. ——————— *cease to admire, and all her plumes*
Fall flat, and sink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.]

This is a very beautiful and apposite allusion to the peacock; speaking of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail under a sense of admiration; "Gemmantes LAU-"DATUS expandit colores, adverso maxime sole, "quia sic fulgentius radiant.

NAT. HIST. L. x. C. 20.

Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail spread,

Nè il superbo pavon si vago in mostra
Spiega la pompa delle occhiutte piume.

C. xvi. St. 24.

The jolly peacock spreads not half so fair
The eyed feathers of his pompous train.

Fairfax.

223. ——————————— *a trivial toy,*]

I came not here ON SUCH A TRIVIAL TOY
As a stray'd ewe.———————

COMUS, 502.

At

At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.
Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy; with such as have more show
Of worth, of honor, glory, and popular praise,
Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd;
Or that which only seems to satisfy
Lawful desires of nature, not beyond;
And now I know he hungers where no food
Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:
The rest commit to me, I shall let pass
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclame;
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight,
Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God
After forty days fasting had remain'd,
Now hungring first, and to himself thus said.

236. ——— *to him takes a chosen band*
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile,]

Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits MORE WICKED THAN HIMSELF.
Mat. xii. 45.

238. ——— *and at his beck appear,*]

Thus HAMLET, Act III. Sc. 1.

"I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious; with "more offences AT MY BECK, than I have thoughts "to put them in."

239. ——— *to unfold some active scene*
Of various persons, each to know his part;]

The phrases are here dramatic: *persons* is in the Latin sense of *Persona*, "scenic or assumed cha- "racter."

244. *Now*

WHERE will this end? four times ten days I've pass'd
Wandering this woody maze, and human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,
Or God support nature without repast
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger, which declares

244. *Now hungring first,—*]

There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungred* before the Devil first tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first hungred*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with his companions?

Thyer.

Milton comprizes the principal action of the Poem in four successive days. This is the second day; in which no positive temptation occurs, for Satan *had left* Jesus (as was said, V. 116 of this Book) *vacant*, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous to the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i. 303.) that our blessed Lord had "passed full forty "days" in the wilderness. All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty days were ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently says that during that time he

——— human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite.

As to the *time necessary* for convening the infernal council, there is the space of twenty-four hours taken for the Devil to go up to *the region of mid air*, where his council was sitting, and where we are told he went *with speed* (V. 117, of this Book), and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return *with his chosen band of spirits*: for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the first Book, and it is now "the hour of night," (V. 260) when he is returned.—But it must also be considered that spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for their *actions*, the *time* necessary to human ones; otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradise, and criticise the PARADISE LOST accordingly.—But Raphael, in the eighth Book of that Poem, says to Adam, enquiring concerning celestial motions,

The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add
SPEED ALMOST SPIRITUAL; me thou think'st not slow,
Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
Where God resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
In Eden, distance inexpressible
By numbers that have name. ———

107.

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain, that *he shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world* IN A MOMENT OF TIME.

Luke, iv. 5.

246. ——— *this woody maze,—*]

In the blind MAZES OF THIS TANGLED WOOD.
COMUS, 181.

Nature

Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
Can satisfy that need some other way,
Though hunger still remain: so it remain
Without this body's wasting, I content me,
And from the sting of famine fear no harm;
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungring more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
Under the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet:

258. ——— *fed with better thoughts, that feed*
Me hungring—]

Then FEED ON THOUGHTS, that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers;———

PARADISE LOST, iii. 37.

259. *Me hungring more to do my Father's will.*]

In allusion to our Saviour's words, *John*, iv. 34. MY MEAT IS TO DO THE WILL OF HIM THAT SENT ME, *and to finish his work.* *Newton.*

But with a reference also to, *Blessed are they which do* HUNGER AND THIRST AFTER RIGHTEOUSNESS;—— Mat. v. 6.

261. *Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down*]

Agreeable to what we find in the Psalms, iv. 4. COMMUNE WITH YOUR OWN HEART UPON YOUR BED, *and be still.*—— *Newton.*

262. —— *the hospitable covert nigh*
Of trees thick interwoven;—]

Thus Horace;

Qua pinus ingens albaque populus
UMBRAM HOSPITALEM CONSOCIARE AMANT
RAMIS;———

L. ii. Ode iii. 9.

And Virgil, GEORG. iv. 24;

Obviaque HOSPITIIS teneat FRONDENTIBUS arbos.

Milton also, COMUS, 186;

—— such cooling fruit
As the kind HOSPITABLE woods provide.

263. *Of trees thick interwoven;*—]

Thus COMUS, 543;

——— a bank
With ivy canopied, and INTERWOVE
With flaunting honey-suckle,———

264. *And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,*
Of meats and drinks—]

Thus Lucretius, speaking of dreams as produced by the actual sensations of mind or body;

Flumen item SITIENS, aut fontem propter amænum,
Adsidet, et totum prope faucibus occupat amnem.

iv. 1019.

Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought;
He saw the prophet also, how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper; then how awak'd
He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,
And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days:
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.

266. *Him thought,—*]

We say now, and more justly, *he thought*; but *him thought* is of the same construction as *me thought*, and is used by our old writers, as by Fairfax, Cant. 13. St. 40.

HIM THOUGHT he heard the softly whistling wind.

Newton.

266. ——— *he by the brook of Cherith stood, &c.*]

Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 Kings, xvii. 5, 6. *He went and dwelt by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan: And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening.* And again, 1 Kings, xix. 4, &c. *But he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a juniper tree.—And as he lay and slept under a juniper-tree, behold then, an Angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat. And he looked, and behold there was a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head; and he did eat and drink, and laid him down again. And the Angel of the Lord came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat, because the journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights, unto Horeb the mount of God.* And Daniel's living upon *pulse and water*, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, Dan. i. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. Lucretius, iv. 960.

Et quoi quisque ferè studio devinctus adhæret,
Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,
Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire.

Newton.

267. ——— ——— *with their horny beaks*]

Cicero, DE NATURA DEORUM, L. i. C. 36, speaking of storks, describes them "aves excelsæ, cruribus rigidis, CORNEO "PROCEROQUE ROSTRO."

278. *Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.*]

Daniel,

Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry 280

Daniel, when a captive at Babylon, being destined to serve in some capacity about the king, was, together with other young men, ordered to be educated and supported by a daily provision of meat and wine from the royal table. As it was customary among the Babylonians to offer some part of what they eat to their gods, Daniel and three other Jewish youths considered these provisions from the king's table as having been already *offered to idols*, and consequently *unclean*. They therefore declined eating of them, and desired to have only *pulse and water* for their subsistence; with which poor food they yet retained more appearance of health and vigour, than others who were more luxuriously and abundantly fed. Daniel, C. 1.

279. ——————— *the herald lark*]

The lark is called by Shakespeare, ROMEO AND JULIET, Act III. Sc. 7.

—— the HERALD of the morn,——
Newton.

280. *Left his ground-nest,*—]

Thus, in COMUS, the early hour of morning is marked by *the lark's rousing from its thatch'd pallat;*

And if your stray attendence be yet lodg'd,
Or shroud within these limits, I shall know
Ere morrow wake, or THE LOW-ROOSTED LARK
FROM HIS THATCH'D PALLAT ROUSE.——
315.

Theocritus, also, marks the early hour, at which reapers begin their work, by the rising of the lark; and their leaving it off in the evening, by this bird's going to rest.

Αρχεσθαι δ' αμωντας εγειρομενω κορυδαλλω,
Και ληγειν ευδοντος.————
IDYLL. X. 50.

280. ——————— *high towering*—]

One of the *cheerful man's* pleasures, ALLEGRO, 41, is

To hear the lark begin his flight,
And singing startle the dull night,
FROM HIS WATCH-TOWER IN THE SKIES,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise.

And Drayton, POLYOLB. S. iii. speaks of the lark

—— CLIMBING UP TO HEAVEN, her high-pitcht hymn to sing
Unto the springing day.——

279. ——————— *the herald lark*
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry
The morn's approach, and greet her with his song:
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour,—]

Thus, in Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE, 1492, "the lark's saluting the morning with her song" is the signal for his knight to rise.

The merry lark, messengere of the day,
SALEWITH IN HER SONG THE MORROW GRAY,
And firy Phebus risith up so bright
That all the Orient laugheth at the sight,
And with his stremis dryeth in the greves
The silver dropis hanging in the leves,
And Arcitè that of the Court riall
With Theseus is Squyier Principall,
IS RISE, AND LOOKETH ON THE MERRY DAY
AND TO DON HIS OBSERVANCES TO MAY.

In the same manner Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. i. C. xi. 51;

The joyous day 'gan early to appear,
And fair Aurora from her dewy bed
Of aged Tithone 'gan herself to rear,
With rosie cheeks for shame as blushing red;
Her golden locks for haste were loosely shed
About her ears, when Una did her mark,
Climb to her charet all with flowers spread,
From Heaven high to chase the cheerless dark;
WITH MERRY NOTES HER LOUD SALUTES THE MOUNTING LARK.

Then FRESHLY UP AROSE the doughty Knight,
All healed of his hurts, &c.————

Mr. Calton observes that *the herald lark greeting the approach of morning with its song*, is "a beauti-" ful thought which modern wit has added to "the stock of antiquity." At the same time he says,

The morn's approach, and greet her with his song:
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,

says, "we may see it rising out of a low hint of Theocritus, like the bird *from his thatch'd pallat;*" and he refers to the passage already cited from the Greek Pastoral Poet. He then exhibits the four first lines of the passage in Chaucer, and the latter part of the stanza of Spenser, which is here given entire. The lines from Chaucer he terms *four of the finest lines in all his works.* Dryden, in his PALAMON AND ARCITE, has paid them the compliment of preserving the three first unaltered, considering them, we may suppose, as rising to that degree of excellence, which, under any advancement of language, it is not easy to improve: the fourth, by altering *orient* to *horizon*, and extending the verse to "a needless Alexandrine," he certainly has not improved. I subjoin the whole passage from Dryden.

The morning-lark, the messenger of day,
Saluted in her song the morning gray,
And soon the sun arose with beams so bright,
That all th' horizon laugh'd to see the joyous sight;
He with his tepid rays the rose renews,
And licks the drooping leaves, and dries the dews;
When Arcite left his bed, resolv'd to pay
Observance to the month of merry May.

282. ——— *from his grassy couch*—]
——— for beast and bird,
They to THEIR GRASSY COUCH, these to their nests
Were slunk,———
PARADISE LOST, iv. 600.
Thyer.

283. ——— *and found all was but a dream.*]
——— but, O! how glad I wak'd
TO FIND THIS BUT A DREAM!———
PARADISE LOST, v. 92.

286. *From whose high top to ken the prospect round,*]
——— It was a hill,
Of Paradise the highest, FROM WHOSE TOP
The hemisphere of earth, IN CLEAREST KEN,
Stretch'd out to the amplest reach OF PROSPECT lay.
PARADISE LOST, xi. 377.

287. *If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;*
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,]

This mode of repetition our Poet is fond of, and has frequently used with singular effect.—Thus, COMUS, 221.

Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver lining on the night?
I did not err, there does a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
And casts a gleam over this tufted grove.

Thus also, PARADISE LOST, iv. 640, a delightful description of morning, evening, and night, is beautifully recapitulated.

289. *Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,*
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud;
Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That open'd in the midst a woody scene;]

The

With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud: 290
Thither he bent his way, determin'd there

The Tempter here is the *Magician* of the Italian Poets. This "pleasant grove" is a *magical* creation in the desert, designed as a *scene* suited for the ensuing temptation of the Banquet. Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidst

> High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good
> * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
> Under the curtain of the greenwood shade,
> Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass,
> Fairfax's Tasso, C. x. 63. 64.

The whole of Milton's description here is very beautiful; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Painting* did not subjoin it to his citations, from the PARADISE LOST, in his *Observations on Modern Gardening*. He there ascribes to our author the having foreseen, "with "the prophetic eye of taste," our modern style of gardening. It may however be questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the COMUS, speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes *cedarn alleys*, and *crisped shades and bowers*; and in his PENSEROSO, "retired leisure" is made to please itself in *trim gardens*. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his Paradise Lost. But the *Paradise* which he there describes is not a *Garden*, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a *Country* in its natural, unornamented state, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the LANDSCAPE GARDENER may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The Poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of *Art*, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of *Nature*, which it is the office of *Art* to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independent of the beauty of its scenery, is its being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a Paradise on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there: accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt it in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity. ——The reader may see this question fully discussed, with great taste and judgment, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his *Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*.

290. *With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud;*]

Virgil, GEORG. ii. 328, has

> Avia tum RESONANT AVIBUS virgulta CANORIS,

Spenser seldom fails to adorn his groves and gardens with singing birds;

> And on the other side A PLEASANT GROVE
> * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
> Therein THE MERRY BIRDS, of every sort,
> CHANTED ALOUD their cheerful harmony,
> FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. v. 31.

> No dainty flower or herb that grows on ground,
> No arboret, with painted blossoms drest,
> And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
> To bud out fair, and her sweet smells throw all around.
>
> No tree whose branches did not bravely spring,
> No branch whereon a fine bird did not sit;
> No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing,
> No song but did contain a lovely dit:
> Trees, branches, birds, and songs were framed fit
> For to allure frail men to careless ease.——
> IBID. B. II. C. vi. 12. 13.

291. —————— *determin'd there*
To rest at noon—]

The

To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,

The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton in his PARADISE LOST.

Yon flowery arbors, yonder alleys green,
Our walk AT NOON with branches overgrown,—
iv. 626.

—— in what BOWER OR SHADE
Thou find'st him, FROM THE HEAT OF NOON RETIR'D,
To respit his day-labor with repast,
Or with repose;——
v. 230.

Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discern'd, as IN THE DOOR HE SAT
OF HIS COOL BOWER, WHILE NOW THE MOUNTED SUN
SHOT DOWN DIRECT HIS FERVID RAYS——
298.

—— she to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd BY NOON AMID THE BOWER,
And all things in best order to invite
NOON-TIDE REPAST, OR AFTERNOON'S REPOSE.
ix. 400.

292. —— *the shade*
High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,]

Thus in the PENSEROSO, 133.

To ARCHED WALKS of twilight groves,
And shadows BROWN that Sylvan loves——

And, in the manuscript of his COMUS, V. 181, Milton had written

In the blind ALLEYS of this ARCHED WOOD——

And in PARADISE LOST, i. 302;

Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High OVER-ARCH'D imbower——

Such are also the arched over-shading groves of Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours.

A shady grove not far away they spied,
That promis'd aid the tempest to withstand;
Whose lofty trees yclad with summer's pride
Did spread so broad that heaven's light did hide,
Not piercable with power of any star;
AND ALL WITHIN WERE PATHS AND ALLIES WIDE.
FAERY QUEEN, B. I. C. i. 7.

And again, B. IV. C. x. 25.

And all without were walks and allies dight,
With divers trees enrang'd in even ranks;
And here and there were pleasant arbors pight,
And shady seats and sundry flowering banks;

High-roof'd reminds us of some of Milton's descriptions in the PARADISE LOST.

—— a shady bank
Thick overhead WITH VERDANT ROOF IMBOWER'D,
ix. 1037.

Speaking of Adam's bower he says,

—— the ROOF
OF THICKEST COVERT WAS INWOVEN SHADE,
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf;——
iv. 692.

Again, in reference to the bower,

And on their naked limbs the FLOWERY ROOF
Shower'd roses,——
772.

Thus also he brings our first parents out to "their "morning orisons,"

—— from under SHADY ARBOROUS ROOF,
v. 137.

The deep shade, produced by great masses of wood, is a favorite object of our Poet's description. The epithet *brown* that he applies to it, (as here "allies BROWN,") he borrowed from the Italian Poets; as has been justly observed by Mr. Thyer, who brings several instances of its being used by them to describe any thing shaded. See his note on PARADISE LOST, iv. 246; where our Author, with the Italian *imbrunir* in his mind, says

—— the unpierc'd shade
IMBROWN'D the noon tide bower:——

In Book IX. 1086, as Bp. Newton remarks, he also expresses himself in a similar manner,

—— woods, impenetrable
To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
And BROWN as evening:——

In

That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt

In the following passage in the TEMPEST, Act IV. Scene 1,

——— thy broom groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,——

Sir Thomas Hanmer inclines to read, and it seems justly, BROWN *groves*.

294. *That open'd in the midst a woody scene;*
Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs—]

Here is some resemblance of Homer's Description of the Bower of Calypso.

Υλη δε σπεος αμφιπεφυκει τηλεθεωσα,
Κληθρη τ' αιγειρος τε, η ευωδης κυπαρισσος
* * * * * * * * * *
* * ενθα κ' επειτα η αθανατος περ' επελθων
Θηησαιτο ιδων, η τερπθειη φρεσιν ησιν.

ODYSS. v. 63. 73.

Without the grot a various sylvan scene
Appear'd around, and groves of living green;
Poplars and alders ever quivering play'd,
And nodding cypress form'd a fragrant shade;
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
A scene where if a God should cast his sight,
A God might gaze, and wonder with delight.

It may be observed, that "a various sylvan "scene" was possibly suggested by Milton's

——— thus was this place
A happy RURAL SEAT OF VARIOUS VIEW;

PARADISE LOST, iv. 246.

295. *Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,*]

Thus Spenser in his description of the Gardens of Acrasia. Having spoken of

The painted flowers, the trees up-shooting high,
The dales for shade, the hills for breathing-space,
The trembling groves, the crystal running by,

he adds,

And that, which all fair works doth most aggrace,
The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude
And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)
That Nature had for wantonness ensu'd
Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
So, striving each the other to undermine,
Each did the other's work more beautify;
So, differing both in wills, agreed in fine:
So all agreed, through sweet diversity,
This garden to adorn with all variety.

FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. xii. 58. 59.

But here he is not a little indebted to his predecessor Tasso, in his description of the Garden of Armida.

Fior vari, e varie piante, erbi diverse,
Apriche collinette, ombrose valli,
Selve e spelonche in una vista offerse:
E quel che il bello, e il caro accresce all' opre
L' arte, che tutto fa, nulla si scopre,

Stimi (si misto il culto è col negletto)
Sol naturali e gli ornamenti, e i siti.
Di natura arte par, che per diletto
L'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti.

C. xvi. 9. 10.

Fair trees, high plants, strange herbs, and flowrets new,
Sunshiny hills, dales hid from Phœbus' rays,
Groves, arbors, mossy caves, at once they view;
And that which beauty most, most wonder brought,
No where appear'd the art which all this wrought.

So with the rude the polish'd mingled was,
That natural seem'd all, and every part;
Nature would craft in counterfeiting pass,
And imitate her imitator, Art:

Fairfax.

296. *And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt*
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs—]

Thus Lucretius, speaking of places remarkable for their echo;

HÆC LOCA CAPRIPEDES SATYROS NYMPHASQUE TENERE
Finitimi fingunt; ———

iv. 584.

Haunt

Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs; he view'd it round,
When suddenly a man before him stood,
Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
As one in city, or court, or palace bred,
And with fair speech these words to him address'd.
  WITH granted leave officious I return,
But much more wonder that the Son of God

Haunt is a favourite word with Milton, in similar descriptions in the PARADISE LOST.

—— yet not the more
Cease I to wander, where the Muses HAUNT,
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
iii. 26.

—— In shadier bower,
More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor nymph
Nor Faunus HAUNTED.——
iv. 705.

See also PARADISE LOST, viii. 330.—ii. 273.

299. *Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,*]

The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man *in rural weeds;* but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words, there it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particular have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation. *Newton.*

302. *With granted leave*—]

It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st
Permission from above.

But as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for *granted leave*. *Newton.*

The *granted leave* here, is "permission from "above." In answer to Satan's request, (B. i. 492.)

—— disdain not such access to me,

our Saviour had said,

—— do as thou find'st
Permission from above.——

Satan therefore here introduces himself with a boast of *that permission* from HIM, who had before given up Job to be tempted by him;

—— he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him.——
i. 368.

Indeed our Author makes the Deity, in his speech to Gabriel, say, speaking of our blessed Lord,

—— this man, born and now up-grown,
To shew him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
His utmost subtlety.——
i. 140.

302. —— *officious*—]

"Officious" is here adopted from the Latin, *and used* in the same sense as by Cicero;—— "— ipsi Lampsaceni summe in omnes cives Ro- "manos *officiosi*." IN VERR. i. 24.

In

In this wild solitude so long should bide
Of all things destitute; and, well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness;
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son
Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
By a providing Angel; all the race
Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God
Rain'd from Heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,
Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed

308. *The fugitive bond-woman, with her son Outcast Nebaioth,*—]

Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, Gen. xvi. 6, is therefore called a *fugitive:* her son was not a fugitive, but an *out-cast;* so exact was our author in the use of his epithets. But then what shall we say to the words, *Out-cast Nebaioth?* For Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael, (Gen. xxv. 13.) and grandson of Abraham and Hagar. He seems here to be put by mistake for Ishmael: at least it is not usual to call the father by the name of the son. *Newton.*

There is no immediate instance of a grandson being substituted for a son in scripture: and yet the curse is addressed to Canaan, *(Genesis,* ix. 25,*)* though it was Ham, his father, who had offended Noah; and, *(2 Sam.* xix. 24.*)* Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, is called *the son of Saul.*

312. ——————— *and that Prophet bold,*]

In the character of Elijah, as it stands portrayed in scripture, we trace a spirit and resolution of the most dignified kind. Hence it is said, 1 *Maccab.* ii. 58, that *he was taken up into Heaven for* BEING FERVENT AND ZEALOUS *for the law.* The *twelve* first verses of the FORTY-EIGHTH Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* are entirely occupied with a panegyric upon him; in which it is said, that *he stood up like fire,* and that *his words burned like a lamp;* which expressions must be understood to imply a peculiar fervor of zeal and spirit.———Milton seems to have been much struck with the character of this "Prophet bold," as he here terms him. He had before, V. 16, of this Book, called him the "Great Thisbite," and has mentioned him no less than four times in this Poem, and three times in his juvenile Latin Poems. EL. iv.—IN PRODIT. BOMBARD.—and IN OBIT. PRÆSUL. ELIENS.—But it may be observed, (and I hope without impropriety,) that possibly he had a *political* predilection for this eminent Prophet, to whose lot it fell to resist the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgments of God against them. In this part of his office he particularly manifested his undaunted spirit; on which account he might be a favourite scripture-character with our Author.

313. *Native of Thebez,*—]

Thebez is the same as *Thesbe,* or *Thisbe,* or *Tishbe,* the birth-place of the prophet Elijah. *Newton.*

Milton, EL. iv. 97, describes Elijah,

——— VATES TERRÆ THESBITIDIS———

Twice by a voice inviting him to eat:
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed.
To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence?
They all had need, as I thou seest have none.
How hast thou hunger then? Satan reply'd.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.
Hast thou not right to all created things?

313. ——— *wandering here was fed*]

It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered, was *the wilderness of Beer-sheba*, Gen. xxi. 14; and where the Israelites were fed with manna was *the wilderness of Sin*, Exod. xvi. 1; and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beer-sheba*, 1 Kings, xix. 4; and where our Saviour was tempted was the *wilderness near Jordan*. But our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguished by different names from the different places adjoining. *Newton.*

321. *Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like*
The giver, answer'd Jesus.—]

Thus, in COMUS, when the Enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to drink of it, she tells him,

Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none,
But such as are good men, can give good things;
And that, which is not good, is not delicious
To a well-govern'd and wise appetite.
701.

It may be observed, that our Lord does not positively refuse to take any food, but subjects his future decision to the quarter from which it should be offered to him. Accordingly, when the Temptation is concluded, he is refreshed with a banquet presented by Angels; which is a contrast in every respect to the insidious one here described.

324. *Hast thou not right to all created things?*
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, &c. &c.]

This part of the Tempter's speech alludes to the heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, *This is my beloved Son, &c.* One may observe too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve, PARADISE LOST, ix. 539;

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
By gift, &c.
Thyer.

Owe

Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, not to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first
To idols, those young Daniel could refuse;
Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who
Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold,
Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,
To treat thee, as beseems, and as her Lord,
With honour: only deign to sit and eat.
He spake no dream; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,
In ample space under the broadest shade,
A table richly spread, in regal mode,

329. —— *those young Daniel could refuse;*]

See Note on V. 278, of this Book.

333. ———————— *hath purvey'd*
From all the elements her choicest store,]

The Latin Poets have similar passages, descriptive of that unbounded luxury, which ransacked all the elements to furnish out the requisite delicacies of their banquets.

Interea gustus ELEMENTA PER OMNIA quærunt,
Juvenal, xi. 14.

Infudere epulas auro, QUOD TERRA, QUOD AER,
QUOD PELAGUS NILUSQUE DEDIT, quod luxus inani
Ambitione furens toto quæsivit in orbe.
Lucan. PHARSAL. X. 155.

336. ——— *only deign to sit and eat.*]

Comus, thus, briefly concludes his invitation to the Lady, to taste of his banquet,

—— Be wise and taste.
COMUS, 813.

And Adam, in the PARADISE LOST, invites the Angel in his bower

To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
TO SIT AND TASTE.——
v. 368.

337. *He spake no dream*—]

This was no dream, as before Ver. 264, but a reality. *Newton.*

340. *A table richly spread, &c.*]

This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency,

With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
And savor; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,

and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his Paradise Lost, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and labored it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shews the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his Paradise Regained. *Thyer.*

The banquet here furnished by Satan, Bp. Newton observes, is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso, C. x. 64.

Apprestar sù l' herbetta, ov' è più densa
L' ombra, e vicino al suon de l'acque chiare,
Fece di sculti vasi altera mensa,
E ricca di vivande elette e care.
Era quì ciò ch' ogni stagion dispensa,
Ciò che dona la terra, ò manda il mare,
Ciò che l' arte condisce, e cento belle
Servivano al convito accorte ancelle.

Under the curtain of the green-wood shade,
Beside the brook upon the velvet grass,
In massy vessel of pure silver made,
A banquet rich and costly furnish'd was;
All beasts, all birds beguil'd by fowler's trade,
All fish were there in floods or seas that pass;
All dainties made by art: and at the table
An hundred virgins serv'd——

Fairfax.

In COMUS, where the Lady is tempted by the Enchanter, the scene is laid in "*a stately palace* "*set out with all manner of deliciousness, soft* "*music, and tables spread with all dainties.*"

340. —— *richly spread, in regal mode,*]

Regal mode was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expence of the Court at that time: it is however well *covered* by classical authority.

—— EPULÆQUE ante ora PARATÆ
REGIFICO LUXU.——

Virg. ÆN. vi. 604.

Instituunt de more epulas, festamque per urbem
REGIFICE EXTRUCTIS celebrant convivia MENSIS.

Sil. Ital. xi. 272.

341. *With dishes pil'd*—]

—— Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn PIL'D,——

PARADISE LOST, v. 391.

—— all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden PIL'D
With Angels' food,——

Ibid. v. 631.

342. —— *beasts of chace*—]

All beasts of the earth since wild, and OF ALL CHACE
In wood or wilderness.——

PARADISE LOST, iv. 341.

In

In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber-steam'd; all fish, from sea or shore,
Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd

343. *In pastry built—*]

The pastry in the beginning of the last century, was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity. Of such kind must have been the pye in which Jeoffrey Hudson, afterwards King James's Dwarf, when eight years old was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pye was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions, otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and were called *suttleties*, *subtilties*, or *sotilties*.———Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the inthronization of Archbishop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea*, Vol. 6,) mentions "a suttlety of three stages, "with vanes and towres embattled," and "a "warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres;" which possibly meant *made in pastry*.—In the catalogue of the expences at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in operatione de le sotilties*. Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms.

344. *Gris-amber-steam'd;—*]

Ambergris or grey-amber is esteemed the best, and used in perfumes and cordials. A curious lady communicated the following remarks upon this passage to Mr. Peck, which we will here transcribe. "*Grey* amber is the amber our Author here "speaks of, and melts like butter. It was for-"merly a main ingredient in every concert for "a banquet; viz. to fume the meat with, and "that whether boiled, roasted, or baked; laid "often on the top of a baked pudding; which "last I have eat of at an old courtier's table. And "I remember, in an old chronicle there is much "complaint of the nobilities being made sick at "Cardinal Wolsey's banquets, with rich sented "cakes and dishes most costly dressed with am-"bergris. I also recollect I once saw a little book "writ by a gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's "court, where ambergris is mentioned as the haut-"gout of that age. I fancy Milton transposed the "word for the sake of his verse; to make it read "more poetically." And Beaumont and Fletcher in the CUSTOM OF THE COUNTRY, Act III. Scene 2.

——— Be sure
The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,
And AMBER'D ALL.

Newton.

Mr. Warton, in his Note on COMUS, V. 863, cites several curious passages, which shew that amber was formerly a favourite in cookery; among others, one from Massinger's CITY MADAM, where "pheasants DRENCHED WITH AMBERGRISE" are spoken of as a prime delicacy; and another from Marmion's ANTIQUARY, which mentions "a fat "nightingale seasoned with pepper and AMBER-"GRISE."

346. *And exquisitest name,—*]

This alludes to that species of Roman luxury, which gave *exquisite names* to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish, as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lacrymæ Christi* and *lac Virginis*.

Warburton.

346. ——— *for*

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
(Alas, how simple, to these cates compar'd,

346. ——— *for which was drain'd*
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.]

The fish are brought, to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus*, or the Euxine Sea, in Asia; from the *Lucrine Bay*, in Italy; and from the *coast of Africa*; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity.

Newton.

Milton had here in his mind the excessive luxury of the Romans in the article of fish; in regard to which it is said by Juvenal that, having exhausted their own seas, they were obliged to be supplied from their distant provinces.

Et jam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula sævit,
Retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
Proxima, nec patitur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
Instruit ergo focum provincia:———

SAT. v. 94.

In Tiberius's time, the *Scarus*, a favorite fish, was brought by one of their admirals in immense quantities, from the furthest part of the Mediterranean, in vessels so constructed as to convey them alive; on purpose to stock the sea all along the coast of Naples to the mouth of the Tiber. That they might increase abundantly, it was forbidden to take one for five years. Pliny, ix. 17. Macrob. SATURN. ii. 12.

Petronius seems to have alluded to this circumstance when speaking of their luxury in carrying this fish alive from the Sicilian Straits for their entertainments; he calls it, *Siculo scarus æquore mersus*; where *mersus* seems to imply that it was not a native of that sea, but brought from a distance and introduced there.

Ingeniosa gula est, SICULO SCARUS ÆQUORE MERSUS
Ad mensam vivus perducitur,———

Petron. DE BELL. CIVIL.

347. *Pontus*—]

Pliny observes how quickly all sorts of fish came to perfection in the *Pontus Euxinus*. "Piscium "genus omne præcipua celeritate adolescit, maxime "in PONTO. Causa, multitudo amnium dulces in- "ferentium aquas. L. ix. 15.

347. ——— *Lucrine bay*—]

Horace notices the shell-fish of the Lucrine Lake,

Non me LUCRINA juverint CONCHYLIA,

EPOD. ii. 49.

and particularly commends its muscles,

Murice Baiano melior LUCRINA PELORIS:

2 SAT. iv. 32.

Martial records the excellence of the Lucrine Oysters,

Ostrea tu sumis STAGNO SATURATA LUCRINO,

L. iii. EP. lx. 3.

These were so much in request that *Lucrina* alone is sometimes used by the last-mentioned poet to signify oysters. L. vi. EP. xi. 5. & L. xii. EP. xlviii. 4. Sergius Orata was the first person who discovered the superior excellence of the Lucrine Oysters, and, having found out the method of fattening them in *beds* on the coast of Baiæ, derived much advantage to himself from the sale of a delicacy so highly in request. *See* Pliny, ix. 54. Macrobius, SATURN. ii. 11. and Val. Maximus, ix. 1.——Petronius speaks of the high price which these oysters bore,

——— inde LUCRINIS
Eruta littoribus vendunt conchylia cœnas.

DE BELL. CIVIL.

The Oysters of the English coast were also in repute at Rome; and, as we may collect, were considered at least equal to those of the Lucrine Lake. Pliny, speaking of the Lucrine Oysters first coming into fashion, says, "nondum Brit- "tannica serviebant littora, cum Orata Lucrina "nobilitabat," ix. 54.

Juvenal particularly mentions the Oysters of *Rhutupium*, or Richborough, on the coast of Kent.

Circœis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, RUTUPINOVE EDITA FUNDO
Ostrea,———

SAT. iv. 140.

347. —— *Afric*

Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!)
And at a stately side-board by the wine, 350

347. ——————— *Afric coast.*]

Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman Luxury, extracted from the Satire of M. Varro περι εδεσματων, notices the Lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Muræna Tartessia.* L. vii. 16.

It is related by Athenæus (B. I. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman glutton Apicius, having been used to eat at Minternæ a sort of cray-fish, which exceeded the lobsters of Alexandria in bigness, when he was told there were some of these fish still larger, to be found on the coast of Africa, sailed thither immediately, in spite of a great many inconveniencies. The fishermen, who were apprized of the object of his voyage, met him with the largest they had taken; but as soon as he found they had none which exceeded those he had been used to eat at Minternæ, he sailed back instantly without going on shore.

349. ——————— *that diverted Eve!*]

Diverted is here used in the Latin signification of diverto, *to turn aside.* *Newton.*

350. *And at a stately side-board, &c.*—]

As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgment thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of eastern grandeur; as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and splendor of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes, to attend and divert the guests with music and singing. *Thyer.*

350. ——————————— *wine,*
That fragrant smell diffus'd,—]

Thus Homer, ODYSS. ix. 210,

οδμη δ' ηδειἁ απο κρητηρος οδωδει
Θεσπεσιη.———————

—— the goblet crown'd
Breath'd aromatic fragrancy around.
Pope.

And Ovid, FAST. iii. 301.

Plenaque ODORATI Dîs ponit pocula BACCHI.

The Ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. Οινος ανθοσμιας was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks. In the PLUTUS of Aristophanes, among the advantages of being rich enumerated by *Cario* the servant, a principal one is

Οι δ' αμφορῆς οινω μελανος ανθοσμιω,
Ver. 807 *Ed. Brunck.*

Casks full of fragrant and deep-colour'd wine.

In the FEMALE ORATORS of the same Comic Poet, a female servant descants upon the superior fragrance of wine above that of the richest ointment; and, calling for a cup of wine, she particularly desires it may be *unmixed and selected for its fragrancy, as affording a gratification of the most durable kind.*

Κερασον ακρατον, ευφραινῆι την νυχθ' ὁλην,
Εκλεγομενη ὁ τι αν μαλις' οσμην εχῃ.
1123.

Thus Læna, a drunken old woman, in the CIRCULIO of Plautus, Act I. Scene 2.

Flos veteris vini meis naribus objectus est.
Ejus amos cupidam me huc prolicit per tenebras.
Ubi, ubi est? Prope me est. Evax habeo. Salve animi mi;
Liberi lepos! Ut veteris vetusti cupida sum!
Nam omnium ungentûm odor præ tuo nautea est.
Tu mihi stacte, tu cinnamomum, tu rosa,
Tu crocinum et casia es, tu bdellium.———

And in a fragment of the old Comic Poet Hermippus, preserved by Athenæus, the praises of a wine named *Sapria* or *Saprian*, are celebrated as so highly fragrant, that *if the least vent is given to the cask, an odor equal to that of violets, roses, and hyacinths, immediately rushes out.*

Εστι δε τις οινος ὁν δη Σαπριαν καλεουσι,
Ου γαρ απο στοματος καμινων ανοιγομεναων
Οζει ιων, οζει δε ροδων, οζει δ' ὑακινθω
Οσμη θεσπεσια.———————
L. 1.

The

That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more
Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,

The Οινος ανθοσμιας, according to Athenæus, was an artificial preparation; it seems to have been drunk in a state of fermentation to make the infused odours more perceptible. Archestratus, whose skill in these matters we may collect from his sirname of δειπνολογος, in a passage preserved also in Athenæus, mentions the Lesbian wine as most excellent, when it "flowers in the cup" so as to have a cream at the top.

—— υγρᾳ χαιτᾳ λευκῳ πεπυκασμενον ανθει.

And, speaking of the same wine, he says, its fragrancy was such, that it was more like ambrosia than wine.

—— κεινος δε δοκησει

Ουκ οινῳ σοι εχειν ομοιον γερας, αμβροσιᾳ δε.

Theophrastus, in his Treatise De Odoribus, *Edit. Heinsii, Fol.* 1613. p. 443. speaks of the infusing liquid odors into wine, or mixing sweet spices with it, τα μυρα τοις οινοις επιχεοντες, η τα αρωματα εμβαλλοντες.

353. *Then Ganymed or Hylas;—*]

These were two most beautiful youths, the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer, the other by Hercules for whom he drew water: they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occasion. *Newton.*

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his SEVENTH ELEGY, where he compares the God of Love to them.

Astat Amor lecto, pictis Amor impiger alis,
Prodidit astantem mota pharetra Deum:
Prodidit et facies, et dulce minantis ocelli,
Et quicquid puero dignum et Amore fuit.
Talis in æterno JUVENIS SIGEIUS Olympo
Miscet amatori pocula plena Jovi;
Aut, qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,
Thiodomantæus Naiade raptus HYLAS.

In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his *Mask of Cupid.*

The first was FANCY, like a lovely boy,
Of rare aspect, and beauty without peer;
Matchable either to that imp of Troy,
Whom Jove did love and chose his cup to bear,
Or that same dainty lad, which was so dear
To great Alcides, that, when as he dy'd,
He wailed woman-like with many a tear,
And every wood and every valley wide
He fill'd with Hylas' name; the nymphs eke Hylas cry'd.
FAERY QUEEN, B. III. C. xii. 7.

354. —— *now tripp'd, now solemn stood,*]

The Deities of the Heathen Mythology had a peculiar species of motion ascribed to them by the Poets. Thus Virgil makes Æneas discover his Mother by the single circumstance of her gait;

—— vera INCESSU patuit Dea.——
ÆN. i. 405.

Juno likewise describes herself,

Ast ego quæ Divûm INCEDO regina,——
IBID. i. 46.

And, in the FIFTH Æneid, among the distinguishing marks of divinity, we find the *gressus eunti:*

—— divini signa decoris
Ardentesque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi,
Qui vultus, vocisque sonus, vel GRESSUS EUNTI,
647.

The most antient statues represent the *Dii Majores* with their feet even; not as walking, but with a sort of sliding motion. The gracefulness of their motion was supposed proportionate to their rank: the supremacy of majestic grace was attributed to Juno; Athenæus has the phrase Ἡραιον βαδιζει, and Propertius, L. ii. EL. 2. describing the charms of his mistress, says,

Fulva coma est, longæque manus: et maxima toto
Corpore; et INCEDIT VEL JOVE DIGNA SOROR.

Milton,

Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn, 355

Milton, in his Paradise Lost, ascribes in the same manner to the Angels a gait proportioned to their rank. When Satan, in the THIRD Book, assumes the form of a stripling Cherub, previous to his conference with Uriel, he has "decent," that is *graceful*, "steps." But, when Michael descends to Paradise to dispossess our first Parents, Adam says to Eve,

I descry,
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
One of the heavenly host, and BY HIS GAIT
None of the meanest, some great potentate,
Or of the thrones above, SUCH MAJESTY
INVESTS HIM COMING;————
xi. 228.

To these rural Goddesses likewise, these Demi-Deities, Milton ascribes *solemn*, that is *graceful*, attitudes, and a motion "more than human." In the continuation of the passage just cited, Adam describes the Angel, as he approaches,

—— not terrible
That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
As Raphael, that I should much confide,
But SOLEMN and sublime; whom, not to offend,
With reverence I must meet, ————

And, in the TWELFTH Book, Michael, foreshewing the circumstances attending our Lord's birth, says,

His place of birth a SOLEMN Angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
364.

"Solemn," then, conveys to us the idea of stately gracefulness, while *tripping* implies a motion of a divine, but festive, kind. Mr. Richardson, in a Note on PARADISE LOST, xi. 847, derives *to trip* from the Latin *tripudio*, which he renders *to step lightly on the toe*. *Tripping*, as Mr. Warton observes on the word, COMUS, 960, was the proper pace of Fairies. Thus, in the same MASK, V. 117,

And on the tawny sands and shelves
Trip the pert Fairies and the dapper elves,

And, IBID. 964, the Dryads are termed THE MINCING DRYADES: to illustrate which phrase Mr. Richardson cites *Isaiah*, iii. 16, where the Daughters of Zion are described MINCING *as they go*, and where the marginal reading for "mincing" is *tripping nicely*.—In the ALLEGRO also, Milton, having described Euphrosyne, the Goddess of Chearfulness, attended by her "Groupe "of Mirth," calls upon her to advance in the most festive and engaging manner:

Come, and TRIP IT, as you go,
On the light fantastic toe.

In this highly-finished description of a banquet, replete with every species of luxury that could engage the attention or solicit the appetite, these seemingly divine and beautiful attendants are thus distinguished by their *graceful attitude*, or *festive elegant motion*, purposely to set off, and increase the effect of, their personal beauty.

354. —————— *now solemn stood,*]

The same idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of COMUS, where the Enchanter, speaking to the Lady of her Brothers, whom he professes to have seen, says,

Their port was MORE THAN HUMAN AS THEY STOOD,
297.

HAMLET likewise in the scene with his Mother, where he compares the personal qualities of his Father and Uncle, as represented in their pictures, having noticed the beauty and expression of his Father's countenance,

See what a grace was seated on that brow;
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
An eye, like Mars, to threaten or command;

thus exemplifies the *gracefulness* of his person,

A STATION like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;

where "station" is *attitude*, or *the act of standing*.

355. *Nymphs of Diana's train,*—]

Homer, ODYSS. vi. 105, having described Diana, adds,

Τῇ δὲ θ' ἅμα Νυμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς Αιγιοχοιο,
Αγρονομοι παιζουσι.————

And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Around her sportive play the rural nymphs,
Daughters of Ægis-bearing Jove,——

Milton, in the very beautiful part of the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, where Eve previous to her temptation separates herself from Adam, compares her to a nymph *of Delia's train*, that is, of the train of Diana, who was likewise called Delia from her birth-place Delos;

—— like a Wood-nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or OF DELIA'S TRAIN,——

where it may be observed that *light* refers to Eve's graceful, *goddess-like*; motion, and it is added that she

——— Delia's self
Surpas'd in gait, and goddess-like deport.

355. ——— ——— *Naiades*
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,]

The story of *Amalthea's Horn*, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, FAST. v. 115.

Naiis Amalthæa Cretæâ nobilis Idâ
Dicitur in sylvis occuluisse Jovem.
Huic fuit hædorum mater formosa duorum
Inter Dictæos conspicienda greges;
Cornibus aeriis atque in sua terga recurvis,
Ubere, quod nutrix possit habere Jovis.
Lac dabat illa Deo. Sed fregit in arbore cornu;
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat.
Sustulit hoc Nymphe; cinctumque recentibus herbis
Et plenum pomis ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille, ubi res cœli tenuit, solioque paterno
Sedit, et invicto nil Jove majus erat,
Sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
Fecit; quod Dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.

But in the beginning of the NINTH Book of the METAMORPHOSES, (where the River-God Achelous relates to Theseus the story of his being conquered by Hercules, with whom he fought for Deianira, in which contest he assumed several shapes, and lastly that of a Bull,) a different history of a *Cornucopia* is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the PARADISE REGAINED.

Nec satis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dum tenet infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.
NAIADES HOC, POMIS ET ODORO FLORE REPLETUM,
SACRARUNT; divesque meo bona Copia cornu est.

357. *And ladies of the Hesperides,*—]

The daughters of Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, are said by the poets to have possessed gardens or orchards, which produced apples of gold; Ovid. MET. iv. 636. Milton frequently alludes to these Ladies *of the Hesperides*. Thus, in the COMUS, 981;

All amidst the gardens fair
Of Hesperus and his daughters three,
That sing about the golden tree:——

Mr. Warton asks, what ancient fabler celebrates these damsels for their skill in singing? He then cites a passage from Apollonius Rhodius, ARGON. iv. 1396, (an author whom, he observes, Milton taught to his scholars,) where these Νυμφαι Εσπεριδες are described ΕΦΙΜΕΡΟΝ ΑΕΙΔΟΥΣΑΙ *sweetly singing*.——Our Author's favorite Tragic Poet, Euripides, also celebrates them under the title of ὑμνωδες κοραι.

Υμνῳδὸς τε κορας
Ηλυθεν ἑσπεριον ες αυλαν,
Χρυσεων πεταλων απο μηλοφορον
Χερι καρπον αμερξων,

HERC. FURENS. 393.

Then came he to the harmonious nymphs, that band
Who in Hesperian gardens hold
Their station; where the vegetative gold
Glows in the fruitage; with resistless hand
To snatch the apple from its height,——

Wodhull.

358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since*]

In PARADISE LOST, v. 380, Eve is described

—— MORE LOVELY FAIR
Than wood-nymph, or the FAIREST GODDESS FEIGN'D
Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,

And, B. ix. 30. the Poet speaks of

—— FABLED knights
In battle FEIGN'D;—

Of

Of faery damsels, met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones, 360

359. —— *faery damsels met in forest wide*
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.]

Sir *Lancelot*, *Pelleas*, and *Pellenore*, (the latter by the title of *King* Pellenore,) are *Persons* in the old Romance of MORTE ARTHUR, or *The Lyf of King Arthur, of his noble Knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of them all*; written originally in French, and translated into English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484.—From this old Romance, Mr. Warton, (OBSERVATIONS ON SPENSER, Sect. 2,) shews that Spenser borrowed much. Sir Lancelot is there called of *Logris*; and Sir Tristram is named of *Lyones*, under which title he appears also in the Faery Queen. *Logris* is the same with *Loegria*, (according to the more fabulous historians, and amongst them Milton,) an old name for England. Hollinshed calls it both Loegria and Logiers. In his *History of England*, B. ii. 4. 5, having related the conquest of our Island by Brute, or Brutus, a Trojan, and his building the city of Troynovant, he thus proceeds. "When Brutus had builded this "city and brought it under his subjection, he by "the advice of his nobles commanded this isle, "(which before hight Albion,) to be called Britain, "and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for "a perpetual memorie that he was first bringer of "them into the land. In this mean while also he "had by his wife three sons, the first named Lo-"crinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Cam-"ber, the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now "when the time of his death drew neere, to the "first he betooke the government of that part of "the land now known by the name of England, "so that the same was long after called LOEGRIA "or LOGIERS of this Locrinus, &c. &c.—— The same author, in his *Description of Britain*, instead of *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, writes it LHOEGRES. The Title of his TWENTY-SECOND Chapter is, *after what manner the sovereigntie of this isle doth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England*. Spenser, in his FAERY QUEEN, where he gives the *Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign*, calls it *Logris*.

Lo rine was left the sovereign lord of all,
But Albanact had all the northern part
Which of himself Albania he did call;
And Camber did possess the western quart,
Which Severn now from LOGRIS doth depart.
B. II. C. x. 14.

Lyones was an old name for Cornwall, or at least for a part of that county. Camden, (in his BRITANNIA,) speaking of the *Land's End*, says, "the "inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory "did once reach farther to the West, which the "sea-men positively conclude from the rubbish "they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, "from a certain old tradition, that the land there "drowned by the incursions of the sea was called "*Lionesse*." Sir Tristram of Lyones, or Lionesse, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the *French* translation of the ORLANDO INAMORATO of Boiardo, he is termed *Tristran de Leonnois*, although in the original he is only mentioned by the single name of Tristran. In the Orlando Inamorato also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in in the fortress of Albracca against Agrican, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, *Uberto dal Lione*.——Tristram, in his account of himself in the FAERY QUEEN, B. VI. C. ii. 28, says,

And Tristram is my name, the only heir
Of good king Meliogras, which did reign
In Cornwall, 'till that he through life's despair
Untimely died.——

He then relates how his Uncle seized upon the crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great fears for her Son's personal safety, determined to send him into "some foreign land."

So, taking counsel of a wise man read,
She was by him advis'd to send me quite
Out of the country wherein I was bred,
The which the fertile LIONESSE is hight,
Into the land of Faery. ——

Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings, or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd

These particulars, Mr. Warton shews, are drawn from the MORTE ARTHUR, where it is said "there "was a knight Meliodas, and he was Lord and "King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded "King Marke's sister of Cornewale."——The issue of this marriage was Sir Tristram.—These Knights, he also observes, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests.———Indeed a forest was almost as necessary in an old Romance as a valorous Knight, or a beautiful Damsel, whose beauty and prowess were severally to be endangered and proved by the difficulties and dangers they underwent amidst

—— forests and inchantments drear,
PENSEROSO, 119.

Milton's later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himself told us, his "younger feet wandered," when he "betook him "among those lofty fables and romances, which "recount in solemn Cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from "hence had in renowne over all Christendome." APOL. FOR SMECTYMH. p. 177. Prose Works. Ed. Amst. 1698.

Sir Pelleas, "a very valorous knight of Arthur's "round table," is one of those who pursue the Blatant beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it "broke its iron "chain" and again "ranged through the world." FAERY QUEEN, B. VI. C. xii. 39.

362. *And all the while harmonious airs were heard*
Of chiming strings, and charming pipes,—]

Thus in PARADISE LOST, xi. 558,

—— the sound
Of instruments THAT MADE MELODIOUS CHIME,

And again, Ver. 594.

—— songs, garlands, flowers,
And CHARMING SYMPHONIES———

Spenser, as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb *to charm;*

Like as the fowler on his guileful PIPE
CHARMS to the birds full many a pleasant lay,
F. Q. B. IV. C. ix. 13.

But Spenser has *to charm* frequently in this sense. Thus, in the opening of his COLIN CLOUT'S COME HOME AGAIN,

The shepherd's boy (best knowen by that name)
That after Tityrus first sang his lay,
Lays of sweet love, without rebuke or blame,
Late (as his custom was) upon a day
CHARMING HIS OATEN PIPE unto his peers.——

And again in the conclusion of his OCTOBER,

Here we our SLENDER PIPES may safely CHARM.

363. ———————— *and winds*
Of gentlest gales Arabian odors fann'd
From their soft wings,—]

Mr. Thyer, who supposes this circumstance introduced in compliance with the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines,

—— now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils.———
PARADISE LOST, iv. 156.

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early ELEGY, *In adventum veris;*

Cinnameâ Zephyrus levè plaudit odorifer alâ.
69.

Milton in the same Elegy refers to the "Arabian "odors;"

Atque ARABUM spirat MESSES———
59.

And in the continuation of the passage from the PARADISE LOST, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

Sabæan odors from the SPICY SHORE
Of ARABY THE BLEST;———

From

From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells. 365
Such was the splendor; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

365. ——————— *Flora's earliest smells.*]

We may collect from many passages in our Author's poems, that he was habitually acquainted with the beauties of the early morning, and particularly sensible of them. Mr. Warton says that he "has delineated them with the lively pencil of a lover." *Note on* LYCIDAS, 27.

In his ARCADES, 56, he speaks of

—— the ODOROUS BREATH OF MORN.

In the PARADISE LOST, iv. 641. he likewise alludes to the peculiar fragrance of flowers at "that sweet hour of prime;"

Sweet is the BREATH OF MORN, her rising sweet——

And in the beginning of the FIFTH Book, Adam thus concludes the speech in which he comforts Eve, on her waking in the morning, respecting her troublesome dream;

Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,
That wont to be more chearful and serene
THAN WHEN FAIR MORNING FIRST SMILES ON THE WORLD;
And let us to our fresh employments rise
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers,
THAT OPEN NOW THEIR CHOICEST BOSOM'D SMELLS,—

Philips, the imitator of our Author, has most beautifully, and in a manner perfectly worthy of his Master, copied the idea expressed in the last line:

—— when the kind early dew
Unlocks embosom'd odors,——

CIDER, ii. 59.

But to revert to Milton, where he speaks more at large, and perfectly *con amore;*

Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on THE HUMID FLOWERS THAT BREATH'D
THEIR MORNING INCENSE, when all things that breathe
From the earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
And join'd their vocal worship to the quire
Of creatures wanting voice; that done, partake
THE SEASON PRIME FOR SWEETEST SENTS AND AIRS:

PARADISE LOST, ix. 192.

To the first part of which passage we may trace Mr. Gray, in a highly-finished line of his ELEGY;

The breezy call of INCENSE-BREATHING MORN,—

We find a semblance of "Flora's earliest smells" in the following very picturesque and poetical stanza of Spenser.

Thus being enter'd they behold around
A large and spacious plain, on every side
Strowed with pleasance, whose fair grassy ground
Mantled with green, and goodly beautifide
With all the ornaments of FLORA's pride,
Wherewith her mother Art, as half in scorn
Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
Did deck her, and too lavishly adorn,
WHEN FORTH FROM VIRGIN BOWER SHE COMES IN TH' EARLY MORN.

F. Q. B. II. 12. 50.

366. *Such was the splendor——*]

Virgil describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (ÆN. i. 637,) says,

At domus interior regali SPLENDIDA luxu
INSTRUITUR; ————

on which La Cerda observes, "Apte et signate *splendida*, nam *splendor* de conviviis sæpe;" and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝ δειπνου παρασκευην.

The description of the splendid entertainment here prepared, purposely to captivate each of the senses, resembles the Address of Pleasure to Hercules in the famous Allegory of Prodicus, which Xenophon has preserved in his MEMORABILIA, L. 2, as repeated by Socrates. The Temptress there offers the young Hero that, if he will follow her, he shall enjoy whatever can gratify the senses; ——τι αν κεχαρισμενον η σιτιον η ποτον ευροις, η τι αν ιδων η τι ακουσας τερφθεις, η τινων οσφραινομενος η απτομενος ησθεις.—The translation subjoined is from the CHOICE OF HERCULES published in Mr. Spence's POLYMETIS.

Then will I grant thee all thy soul's desire;
All that may charm thine ear and please thy sight;

All

WHAT doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord:
What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat.
To whom thus Jesus temperately reply'd.
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?

All that thy thought can frame or wish require,
To steep thy ravish'd senses in delight:
The sumptuous feast enhanc'd with music's sound,
Fittest to tune the melting soul to love:
Rich odors breathing choicest sweets around;
The fragrant bower, cool fountain, shady grove;
Fresh flowers to strew thy couch and crown thy head;
Joy shall attend thy steps, and ease shall smooth thy bed.

* * * * * * * * * * *
Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence; for know,
The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die,
From that day mortal, and this happy state
Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
The rigid INTERDICTION, which resounds
Yet dreadful in my ear,———

323.

369. *These are no fruits forbidden, no interdict*
Defends the touching of these viands pure,
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,]

This sarcastical allusion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker.

Milton, in his PARADISE LOST, terms the forbidden fruit

——— the tree
Of INTERDICTED knowledge———

v. 51.

And, in the EIGHTH Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the divine command not to eat of the *tree of knowledge*;

But of the tree whose operation BRINGS
KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND ILL, * * *

370. *Defends*—]

From the French *defendre* to forbid. *See* a preceding note, B. i. 53.

374. *All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs,*]

These "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs" remind us of Shakespeare's

—— elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,

in the TEMPEST; where Prospero in the LAST ACT addressing *his* spiritual ministers, and reciting what wonderful feats he had performed by their assistance, professes his intention of breaking his *staff*, drowning his *book*, and renouncing all magical arts for the future,

And

And who withholds my power that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant
Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:
Why should'st thou then obtrude this diligence,
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

385. ——— *flights of Angels*—]

An expression likewise in Shakespeare, HAMLET, Act V. Sc. 6;

And FLIGHTS OF ANGELS sing thee to thy rest.
Newton.

385. ——— *Angels ministrant*]

Laertes, in HAMLET, tells the Priest who refuses any further funeral rites to the body of *Ophelia*, on account of her having destroyed herself,

I tell thee, churlish priest,
A MINISTRING ANGEL shall my sister be
When thou liest howling.

And, PARADISE LOST, x. 86, when the Son of God descends to judge and pass sentence on Adam and Eve after their Fall,

—— him thrones and powers,
Princedoms and dominations MINISTRANT,
Accompanied to Heaven gate,———

St. Paul, speaking of the inferiority of the angels to the Son of God, says, *Are they not all* MINISTRING SPIRITS? Heb. i. 14.

Whence, in the SIXTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, Satan, in derision of his opponents,

I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
MINISTRING SPIRITS, train'd up in feast and song;
166.

386. ——— *on my cup to attend:*]

In the New Testament an Angel *attends on* the mystical CUP of Christ's Passion. Luke, xxii. 42. Pharaoh's *chief butler* was his cup-bearer; accordingly he says, *Pharaoh's cup was in my hand,* — — — — *and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.* Gen. xl. 11.—And in later times all great personages had cup-bearers. It was a place of great honour; the King of Bohemia is great cup-bearer to the Emperor.

When Adam entertains the Angel, in PARADISE LOST, Eve is their *cup-bearer*, or *attends on their cup*.

——— at table Eve
MINISTER'D naked, and their FLOWING CUPS
WITH PLEASANT LIQUORS CROWN'D:——
v. 443.

MINISTRARE POCULUM and MISCERE POCULUM are classical phrases.

Non ambrosia Deos, aut nectare, aut juventute pocula ministrante, lætari arbitror.
Cicero, 1 TUSC. QUÆST. 26.

Arripit Iliadem, qui nunc quoque POCULA MISCET,
Invitâque Jovi NECTAR Junone MINISTRAT.
Ovid, MET. x. 160.

Thy

Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts, no gifts but guiles.
To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.
That I have also power to give, thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why should'st thou not accept it? but I see
What I can do or offer is suspect;
Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earn'd the far fet spoil. With that
Both table and provision vanish'd quite

391. *And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles,*] Not without a resemblance to Virgil's

—— timeo Danaos et DONA FERENTES;
ÆN. ii. 49.

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon;

—— O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis
DONA CARERE DOLIS DANAUM?——

Bp. Newton observes, that "*thy gifts no gifts*" is from Sophocles,

Εχθρων αδωρα δωρα, κ' ουκ ονησιμα.
AJAX, 675.

Gifts proffer'd by an enemy 'twere wrong
To reckon gifts, or look for profit from them.

401. —— *far fet*—] Bp. Newton collects several instances of Chaucer, Spenser, and Johnson, using *fet;* and accompanies them with an observation "that *fet* is much softer "than fetch'd," upon which he grounds another remark that "our old writers had a better ear, "and studied the beauties of sound more than the "moderns." I confess, to my ear *far-fetch'd* reads at least as musically as *far-fet.* But "fet" is one of those *old* words which Milton sometimes introduces purposely to deviate from the more modernised language of the day. Obvious and ordinary forms of speech, as Mr. Addison observes, in his *Critique* on the LANGUAGE of the Paradise Lost, are so far debased by common use, that they became improper for a Poet or an Orator. "Old words" he adds, "make a poem appear the more vene-"rable, by giving it an air of antiquity."

Fet is frequently used for *fetched* in our version of the Scriptures.

401. —— *With that*
Both table and provision vanish'd quite
With sound of harpies' wings, and talons heard:]

In which the Author has imitated Virgil, ÆN. iii. 225.

At subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiæ, et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
Diripiuntque dapes.

Shakespeare has a like scene in the TEMPEST, Act III, where *several strange shapes bring in a banquet;*

With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard:
Only the importune Tempter still remain'd,
And with these words his temptation pursu'd.
  By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
Thy temperance, invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;
And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions: but wherewith to be achiev'd?
Great acts require great means of enterprise;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyself
Bred up in poverty and straits at home,
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit:
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?
What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,

banquet; and afterwards, *Enters* Ariel *like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes.* *Newton.*

404. ——— *importune*—]

Spenser and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented;

And often blame the too IMPÓRTUNE fate:
FAERY QUEEN, B. I. C. 12. 16.

410. ——————— *high designs,*
High actions:—]

In the FOURTH Book of this Poem, the "lofty "grave Tragedians" are characterised,

HIGH ACTIONS, and HIGH PASSIONS best describing.

413. ——— *unknown, unfriended, low of birth,*
A carpenter thy father—]

Such was the language of our Lord's own countrymen respecting him. *Is not this* THE CARPENTER'S SON? *Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* Mat. xiii. 55.

416. ——————— *hunger-bit:*]

His strength shall be HUNGER-BITTEN; *and destruction shall be ready at his side.* Job. xviii. 12.

420. *Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,*
Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?]

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?
Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms:
What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,
Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me;
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand,

The *dizzy multitude* is the *ventosa plebs* of the Roman Poet, who speaks of *them*, as to be gained in the same manner.

Non ego VENTOSÆ PLEBIS suffragia venor
IMPENSIS CŒNARUM,——
Hor. L. i. EPIST. xix. 37.

The following passage in Shakespeare's TIMON OF ATHENS, Act ii. Sc. 2. was possibly here in Milton's mind:

How many prodigal bits have slaves and peasants
This night englutted! Who now is not Timon's?
What heart, head, sword, force, means, but is Lord Timon's?
Great Timon, noble, worthy, royal Timon's?
Ah! when the means are gone that buy this praise,
The breath is gone whereof this praise is made;
Feast-won, fast-lost; one cloud of winter showers,
These flies are couch'd.

421. ——— *canst feed them on thy cost?*]

Thus, HENRY V. Act iv. Sc. 3:

Nor care I who doth FEED UPON MY COST.

422. *Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms:*]

Mammon, in the FAERY QUEEN, attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences. B. ii. Cant. vii. St. 11.

Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,
That money can thy wants at will supply?
Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet
It can purvey in twinkling of an eye;
And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie?
And him that reign'd into his room thrust down,
And whom I lust do heap with glory and renown?
Calton.

Horace has a passage not dissimilar.

——— omnis enim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque PULCHRIS
DIVITIIS PARENT; quas qui construxerit, ille
Clarus erit, fortis, justus, sapiens, etiam et rex,
Et quicquid volet;———
Hor. L. ii. Sat. iii. 94.

And Ovid, FASTI, i. 217.

In pretio pretium nunc est. DAT CENSUS HONORES;
CENSUS AMICITIAS; pauper ubique jacet.

423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,*
And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,]

This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φιλος δε τις Υρκανω Ιδουμαιος, Ανιπατρος λεγομενος, πολλων μεν ευπορων χρηματων, κ. τ. λ. Antiq. Lib. xiv. Cap. 1. And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him;——τα δε κ) υπο χρηματων ων αυτω Ηρωδης υπεσχετο δωσειν ει γενοιτο βασιλευς. Ibid. Cap. 14. *Newton.*

427. *Get riches first,—*]

—— quærenda pecunia primum est,
Hor. 1 EPIST. i. 53.
Newton.

429. *Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand,*
They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain,]

This

They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valor, wisdom, sit in want.
To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.
Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd:
But men endued with these have oft attain'd
In lowest poverty to highest deeds;
Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain

This Temptation we owe to our Author's invention, as Mr. Thyer observes, who adds, that "it is "very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the "reader on to the stronger ones in the following "books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind.

The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon.

God of the world and wordlings I me call,
Great Mammon, greatest God below the sky,
That of my plenty pour unto all,
And unto none my graces do envie;
RICHES, RENOWN, AND PRINCIPALITY,
HONOUR, ESTATE, AND ALL THIS WORLDE'S GOOD,
For which men swink and sweat incessantly,
FROM ME DO FLOW——————

FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. vii. 8.

431. *To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.*]

When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, Ver. 378.

To whom thus Jesus TEMPERATELY reply'd.

But now when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

To whom thus Jesus PATIENTLY reply'd.

Newton.

439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,*]

Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the best known to him; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, *O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.* Judges, vi. 15. And Jephtha *was the son of an harlot,* and his brethren *thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.* Judges, xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a sceptre is very well known. *He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds: From following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance.* Psalm lxxviii. 70, 71. *Newton.*

That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial,) canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus,*]

Quintius Cincinnatus was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negociating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the public expence, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: And, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honor that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God. *Newton.*

447. *For I esteem those names of men so poor,*
Who could do mighty things, &c.]

The Author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. De IV. Cons. Honor. 412.

Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis;
Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aratra; &c.

And again, In Rufinum, i. 200.

Semper inops, quicunque cupit. Contentus honesto
Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum,
Sudabatque gravi Consul Serranus aratro,
Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.
Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,

—— those names of men so poor
Who could do mighty things——

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who

—— could contemn
Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings,

if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin Secretary to Charles the 2d, and of his refusing it. *Newton.*

Riches

Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
And what in me seems wanting, but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do ought may merit praise.
What if with like aversion I reject
Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,

453. *Extol not riches then, &c.*—]

Milton concludes this book and our Saviour's reply to Satan with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the Paradise Regained is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty, this is as true an instance of the sublime, as the battles of the Angels in the Paradise Lost.

Thyer.

453. ——————— *the toil of fools,*
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do ought may merit praise.]

Thus Juvenal, SAT. vi. 297.

Prima PEREGRINOS OBSCŒNA PECUNIA MORES
INTULIT, et TURPI FREGERUNT SÆCULA LUXU
DIVITIÆ MOLLES.———

And Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. vii. St. 12. 13.

All otherwise, said he, I riches read,
And deem them root of all disquietness;
First got with guile, and then preserv'd with dread,
And after spent with pride and lavishness,
Leaving behind them grief and heaviness.
Infinite mischiefs of them do arise;
Strife and debate, bloodshed and bitterness,
Outrageous wrong and hellish covetise,
That noble heart, as great dishonour, doth despise.

Ne thine be kingdoms, ne the scepters thine;
But realms and rulers thou dost both confound,
And loyal truth to treason dost incline;
Witness the guiltless blood pour'd oft on ground,
The crowned often slain, the slayer crown'd,
The sacred diadem in pieces rent,
And purple robe gored with many a wound,
Castles surpris'd, great cities sack'd and brent;
So mak'st thou kings, and gainest wrongful government.

454. *The wise man's cumbrance,*—]

The expression *cumbrance* has some resemblance a phrase of Horace, L. ii. SAT. ii. 77.

——— corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis ANIMUM QUOQUE PRÆGRAVAT.—

458. ——————— *yet not, for that a crown,*
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.]

Milton seems here to have had in his mind several parts of the soliloquy in Shakespeare's HENRY

Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,

HENRY THE FIFTH, which the poet has put in the mouth of the king, immediately before the battle of Agincourt.

Upon the King! let us our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives, our children, and
Our sins lay on the King! He must bear all.
O hard condition, and twin-born with greatness,
Subject to breath of every fool, whose sense
No more can feel but his own wringing.
What infinite heart-ease must Kings neglect
That private men enjoy! * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * Thou proud dream,
That play'st so subtly with a King's repose,
I am a King that find thee, and I know
'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
The enter-tissu'd robe of gold and pearl,
The farsed title running 'fore the King,
The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp,
That beats upon the high shore of this world;
No, not all these thrice-gorgeous ceremonies,
Not all these, laid in bed majestical,
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,
Who, with a body fill'd and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest.———

Or we may compare the Prince of Wales's Address to the Crown, when he finds his father sleep, with the crown upon his pillow, 2 HENRY IV. Act IV.

Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow,
Being so troublesome a bed-fellow?
O polish'd perturbation! golden care!
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide
To many a watchful night: sleep with it now!
Yet not so sound, and half so deeply sweet,
As he whose brow, with homely biggen bound,
Snores out the watch of night. O majesty!
When thou dost pinch thy bearer, thou dost sit
Like a rich armour worn in heat of day,
That scalds with safety.———

And in the opening of the THIRD Act of the same play, where the King, complaining of his wakeful night, describes the sleep of the poor and laborious, and particularly of the ship-boy upon "the high and giddy mast," he adds,

Can'st thou, O partial sleep, give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude,
And in the calmest and the stillest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a King? Then happy low! lie down;
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

In the Hiero of Xenophon, (a Dialogue between Simonides the Poet, and Hiero, King of Syracuse, on the Pleasures and Pains of Royalty,) many passages likewise occur similar to the sentiments which Milton has here so admirably expressed. Some of the passages are subjoined from Mr. Graves's very pleasing translation.

Simonides, who is at first the advocate of the pleasures attendant on royalty, having said that "kings, in every particular, experience more pleasure and less pain than private persons," Hiero replies, "This is by no means the case; but be "assured that kings taste much less pleasure, and "feel much more chagrin than those individuals "who are placed in the middle ranks of life." In another place Hiero says, "For my part I assure "you, from my own experience, that kings have "the least share of the greatest goods, and much "the largest portion of the greatest evils incident "to human life." And again, in a more particular and descriptive manner, "But I will now "lay before you, my Simonides, a true account "of those pleasures which I enjoyed when I was "a private man, and which I find myself deprived of since I became a king. I then conversed familiarly with my equals; delighted "with their company, as they were with mine; "and I conversed also with myself whenever "I chose to indulge in the calm of solitude. "I frequently spent my time in convivial entertainments with my friends, so as to forget the "chagrins to which human life is obnoxious; nay, "often to extravagance; to singing, dancing, and "every degree of festivity unrestrained but by our "own inclinations. But I am now debarred from "the society of those who could afford me any "delight, as I have slaves alone for my com-

"panion

To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,

" panions, instead of friends: nor can I converse " agreeably with men in whom I cannot discover " the least benevolence or attachment to me; and " I am forced to guard against intoxication or " sleep, as a most dangerous disease.——But now " to be continually alarmed, either in a croud or " in solitude: to be in fear when without guards, " and to be afraid of the guards themselves: to be " unwilling to have them about me without their " arms, and to be under apprehensions to see them " armed; what a wretched state of existence is " this!——Moreover to place a greater confidence " in strangers than in our own countrymen; in " barbarians than in Greeks; to be under a ne- " cessity of treating freemen like slaves, and to " give slaves their freedom; are not all these evi- " dent symptoms of a mind disturbed and quite " deranged by fear? Now this passion of fear not " only creates uneasiness, and diffuses a constant " gloom over the mind, but, being mixed with all " our pleasures, deprives us of all kind of enjoy- " ment."

463. *For therein stands the office of a king,*
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears,]

Milton, in the height of his political ardor, declared that he was not actuated " by hatred to " kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any occasion to question the truth of his assertion; but such was his apprehension of *monarchical* tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very strongly in favour of a republican government.——Even in one of his latest political publications, *The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, he professes that " though " there may be such a king, who may regard the " common good before his own, yet this rarely " happens in a monarchy not elective;" and, on this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the *risk* of admitting *Kingship*.——The contest however was now completely over; and our Author, having seen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but also of his confidence in those persons, of whose consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotic prince, to be somewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time also, seemingly under the same impression, he had proceeded in his History, and composed the fifth and sixth Books, in which we find no marks of any splenetic dislike to kings: on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favorable one. The character of Alfred in particular is given with the most affectionate admiration, and is not without its resemblance to the compressed description of a good king in this place.——" From the " time of his undertaking Regal charge, no man " more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive " in examining, more exact in doing justice, and " in providing good laws, which are yet extant; " more severe in punishing unjust Judges, or obsti- " nate offenders; thieves especially and robbers, to " the terror of whom in cross ways were hung upon " a high post certain chains of gold, as it were " daring any one to take them thence, so that " justice seemed in his days not to flourish only, " but to triumph. No man than he more frugal of " two precious things in man's life, his time and " his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of " both. His time, the day and night, he dis- " tributed, by the burning of certain tapers, into " three equal portions; the one was for devotion, " the other for public or private affairs, the third " for bodily refreshment. How each hour passed, " he was put in mind by one who had that office. " His whole annual revenue, which his first care " was should be justly his own, he divided into " two equal parts. The first he employed to secular

" uses,

His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
Which every wise and virtuous man attains,
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth

" uses, and subdivided those into three; the first " to pay his soldiers, household servants and guard; " the second was to pay his architects and work- " men, whom he had got together of several " nations, for he was also an elegant builder, above " the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those " days; the third he had in readiness to relieve or " honor strangers according to their worth, who " came from all parts to see him and to live under " him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth " he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts; " the first to relieve the poor, the second to the " building and maintenance of two monasteries, " the third of a school, where he persuaded the " sons of many noblemen to study sacred know- " ledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford; the " fourth was for the relief of foreign churches.— " Thus far, and much more might be said of his " noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of " Princes; his body was diseased in his youth with " a great soreness in the siege, and, that ceasing of " itself, with another inward pain of unknown " cause, which held him by frequent fits to his " dying day; yet not disenabled to sustain those " many glorious labours of his life both in peace " and war."

466. *Yet he, who reigns within himself, &c.*—]

" The Paradise Regained," Mr. Hayley very justly observes, " is a poem that particularly de- " serves to be recommmended to ardent and in- " genuous youth, as it is admirably calculated to " inspire that spirit of self-command, which is, as " Milton esteemed it, the truest heroism, and the " triumph of Christianity." *Life of Milton*, p. 126.

466. *Yet he who reigns within himself, &c.*—]

Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets; as Hor. L. ii. Od. ii. 9.

Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, &c.

and, Sat. ii. vii. 83.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens; sibi qui imperiosus, &c.
Newton.

471. *Subject himself to anarchy within,*
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.]

We may compare the following passage in the PARADISE LOST, xii. 86.

Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
Immediately INORDINATE DESIRES
AND UPSTART PASSIONS CATCH THE GOVERNMENT
FROM REASON, AND TO SERVITUDE REDUCE
MAN TILL THEN FREE.

473. *But to guide nations in the way of truth*
By saving doctrine, and from error lead

To

By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.
Besides to give a kingdom hath been thought

To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly;—]

In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour. *Newton.*

478. *That other o'er the body only reigns,*
And oft by force, which to a generous mind
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.]

This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the FIRST Book of this Poem;

Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear.
221.

481. *Besides to give a kingdom hath been thought*
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.]

So Hephæstion to those who transferred the kingdom of Sidon from themselves to another. (Quint. Curt. IV. 1.) "Vos quidem macti virtute inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere," &c. Dioclesian, Charles V. and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our Author's thought, upon this occasion. For, as Seneca says, (Thyest, III. 529.)

Habere regnum, casus est: virtus, dare.
Newton.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina Queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our Author had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his: though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiac "Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our Author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English Poems in 1645, he had added to his SEVENTH Elegy ten lines which sufficiently shew that he then perfectly retained his Elegiac Latinity; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the Secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them.

Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.
Riches are needless then, both for themselves,

It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his DEFENSIO POPULI, she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court, and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his DEFENSIO SECUNDA, Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyric; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity TAM VERE REGIAM. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines, where our Author having said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superior degree of royalty, or the most distinguished eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command;

Yet he who reigns within himself and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is MORE A KING;

and still more to him who conscientiously labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion;

But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet MORE KINGLY.

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verses to Christina, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities: and Harte, the English Historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman; reading much, yet not "extremely learned; a collector and critic in the "fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and "forming conclusions without taste; affecting "pomp, and rendering herself a beggar; fond to "receive servile dependance, yet divesting herself "of the means; paying court to the most serious "Christians, and making professson of little less "than atheism." But our Author saw only the bright side of her character, and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotic, disinterested Princess.

482. ——————— *and to lay down*
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.]

We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the passage cited in a preceding note, from Q. Curtius by Bp. Newton. "Quid? quod duas "virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ "sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio, imperium "regendi peritiam et IMPERIUM CONTEMNENDI "MAGNANIMITATEM. Anaxilaus enim Messe-"nius, qui Messanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rhe-"ginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinqueret "liberos, Micitho servo suo commendasse conten-"tus est. Is tutelam sancte gessit; imperiumque "tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a servo regi "non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem "pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipse parvo "viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympiæ cum "summa tranquilitate consenuit."

SATURNAL. i. 11.

And

And for thy reason why they should be sought,
To gain a sceptre, oftest better miss'd*. 485

* The opening of this second Book is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the picturesque or descriptive kind; but by recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. It might perhaps be wished, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, respecting the early life of her Son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first Book. There it seems aukwardly introduced, but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord (Ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan (Ver. 118.) return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel and assistance in an enterprise of so much difficulty. This he does (Ver. 122.) in a brief and energetic speech. Hence arises a debate; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. The language of Belial (Ver. 153.) is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty, without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine poem. Satan's reply (Ver. 173.) is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the most dissolute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the Heathen Gods, while it is replete with classic beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions: and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is in its general tenour of the most superior and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his speech (from Ver. 191. to Ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker: at least we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself, in the first Book;

——— I have not lost
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous.———————

After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the Arch-Fiend resume his attempts against the divine person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing (Ver. 225.) to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his associates to the wilderness, (Ver. 241.) the poem advances towards the height of its argument.—Our Saviour's passing the night (Ver. 261.) is well described. The coming on of morn (Ver. 279.) is a beautiful counterpart of "Night coming on in the desert," which so finely closed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking (Ver. 282.)—his viewing the country (Ver. 285.)—and the description of the "pleasant grove," (Ver. 292.) which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan (Ver. 298.), varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech (Ver. 302.), referring to scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantic address (Ver. 324.), where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

——— Behold,
Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,
To treat thee, as beseems, and, as her Lord,
With honour. ——————

The banquet (Ver. 340.) comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eastern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetic fancy can supply; and, if compared with similar descriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much superior to them. In the concluding part of his invitation (Ver. 368.) the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a sarcastic allusion to the divine prohibition respecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately resumes his hypocritical servility, which much resembles his language in the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, when, in his addresses to Eve, "persuasive rhetorick "sleek'd his tongue." The three last lines are quite in this style;

All these are spirits of air, and woods and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.

Our Lord's reply is truly sublime;

I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in the wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,
Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend.

But I must not swell these notes with the citation of passages, the beauty of which is sufficiently obvious to every reader of taste; and yet, in reviewing the several parts of this admirable poem, it is often difficult to refrain. This part of it in particular is so highly finished, that I could wish this second Book had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vanishing of the banquet, (Ver. 403.)—The present conclusion, from its subject, required another style of poetry. It has little description, no machinery, and no mythological allusions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a sublimity of another kind. Satan's speech (Ver. 406.), in which he assails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatness, is in a noble tone of dramatic dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, (Ver. 433.) where he rejects the offer, contains a series of the finest moral precepts expressed in that plain majestic language, which, in many parts of Didactic Poetry, is the most becoming *vestitus orationis*. Still it must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the *exordium* of this Book; which has the effect ascribed by Cicero to the *subordinate* and *less shining* parts of any writing, "quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur." DE ORATOR. iii. 101. Ed. Proust.—But the conclusion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of Didactic Poetry, to secure the continuance of their reader's attention, must be careful not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed thence to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each Book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various instances of conquests atchieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by shewing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by shewing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful Man can have no right whatever to it.—Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David; he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour.—Satan still pursues his former incitements; and, supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being unacquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shews him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he shewed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first, and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judæa against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Cæsar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish, what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne he shall not be slack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always shewed himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

So spake the Son of God, and Satan stood
A while, as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renew'd him thus accosts.
I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.

10. *To thy large heart*—] Thus, PARADISE LOST, i. 444.

—— whose HEART, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses fell
To idols foul.——————

And Cowley, in his Poem, *On the Death of Mr. William Hervey.*

LARGE WAS HIS SOUL; as large a soul as ere
Submitted to inform a body here——

11. —— *of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.*] Milton, no doubt, by the word *shape* intended to express the meaning of the Greek ἰδέα, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in all languages, which cannot well be translated without losing much of their beauty, and even some of their meaning; of this sort I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the word *species* with as little success as Milton has done here by his English *shape*. *Thyer.*

I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma honestatis*, and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Cicero.

Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old
Infallible: or wert thou sought to deeds
That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such, that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive

Cicero. De Fin. ii. 15. Habes undique expletam et *perfectam*, Torquate, *formam honestatis*, &c. De Off. i. 5. *Formam* quidem *ipsam*, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *honesti* vides; quæ, si oculis cerneretur, &c. And the more, because he renders *forma* by *shape* in the Paradise Lost, iv. 848.

Virtue in her SHAPE how lovely,——
Newton.

13. —— —— *as the oracle*
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast;—]

Aaron's breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them, which being fixed to the ephod, or upper vestment of the high priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim* and *Thummim*, say the Scriptures, were put. And the learned Prideaux, after giving some account of the various opinions concerning *Urim* and *Thummim*, says it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim* and *Thummim* meant only the divine virtue and power, given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his words did direct; and that the names of *Urim* and *Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection, which these oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim*, *perfection*. *Newton.*

15. —— —— —— *or tongue of seers of old*
Infallible:—]

The poet by mentioning this after *Urim* and *Thummim* seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux's Connect. Part I. Book III.
Newton.

22. *Affecting private life,*—]

Shakespeare, and the poets of his time, frequently use *to affect* in the sense of AFFECTO in Latin.

Nec tantum pietas, sed protinus ardua virtus
AFFECTATA tibi;——
Statius, 5 SYLV. ii. 98.

All

All earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
The fame and glory, glory the reward
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,

25. ——— *glory the reward*] Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who, in his second Book of the Faery Queen, representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or *Mammon's delve* as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotimè*. *Thyer.*

25. ——— *glory the reward*
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,]

What the Tempter here says, on the subject of glory, is afterwards corrected by our Lord in his reply.

This is true glory and renown, when God
Looking on the earth with approbation marks
The just man, &c.———
60.

Taking the two passages together, we trace a striking resemblance of them in a beautiful part of the LYCIDAS.

Fame is the spur that the CLEAR SPIRIT doth raise,
(The last infirmity of noble mind,)
TO SCORN DELIGHTS AND LIVE LABORIOUS DAYS;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life. But not the praise,
Phœbus reply'd, and touch'd my trembling ears;
FAME IS NO PLANT THAT GROWS ON MORTAL SOIL,
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies,
But LIVES AND SPREADS ALOFT BY THOSE PURE EYES,
AND PERFECT WITNESS OF ALL-JUDGING JOVE;
AS HE PRONOUNCES LASTLY ON EACH DEED,
OF SO MUCH FAME IN HEAVEN EXPECT THY MEED.
70.

27. *Of most erected spirits,*—] The Author here remembered Cicero; Pro Archia. Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. De Off. i. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plurumque exsistunt honoris, imperii, potentiæ, gloriæ cupiditates. *Newton.*

Erected spirits is a classical phrase. "Magno "ANIMO et ERECTO est, nec unquam succumbit "inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem."
Cicero, PRO REGE DEIOTARO, 13.

And Seneca, EPIST. ix. "Ad hoc enim multis "illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum ANIMO SANO, "ET ERECTO, et despiciente fortunam."
It occurs likewise in PARADISE LOST, i. 679.

Mammon the least ERECTED SPIRIT that fell
From Heaven. ———

28. ——— *who all pleasures else despise,*
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,]

Thus Spenser, in the conclusion of his HYMN OF HEAVENLY LOVE;

Thenceforth all world's desires will in thee die,
And all earth's glory, on which men do gaze,
SEEM DIRT AND DROSS in thy pure-sighted eye.

And Milton, in his Verses ON TIME;

Which is no more than what is false and vain,
And merely mortal DROSS;—

All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
And dignities and powers all but the highest?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.

31. *Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe;—]*

Our Saviour's Temptation was soon after his Baptism; and he was baptized when he was *about thirty years of age.* Luke, iii. 23. *Newton.*

31. ——————— *the son*
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose;—]

Alexander was but twenty years old, when he began to reign; and in a few years he overturned the Persian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age. *Newton.*

34. *At his dispose;—]*

Shakespeare writes *dispose* for *disposal.*

Needs must you lay your heart at his DISPOSE,
Against whose fury and unmatched force
The awless lion could not wage the fight.
K. JOHN. ACT I. Sc. 3.

34. ——————— *young Scipio had brought down*
The Carthaginian pride;—]

Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four years old, when he was sent Proconsul into Spain. He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine, when, being chosen Consul before the usual time, he transferred the war into Africa. *Newton.*

35. ——————— *young Pompey quell'd*
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.]

In this instance our Author is not so exact as in the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above forty, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honor of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year; and the Manilian law, which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when Cicero was in the forty-first year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were. Plutarch, speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says, that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time he was near forty. ἡλικιᾳ δε τοτε ην (ὡς μεν οἱ κατα παντα τῳ Αλεξανδρῳ παραβαλλοντες αυτον και προσθιβαζοντες αξιουσι) νεωτερῳ των τριακοντα και τετταρων, αληθεια δε τοις τετταρακοντα προσηγεν. Plut. Vit. Pompeii. *Newton.*

38. ——————— *the thirst of glory—]*

—— nec honores SITIO, nec desidero gloriam;—
Cicero. Ad QUINCT. FRAT. iii. 5.

And

Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd
With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.
To whom our Saviour calmly thus reply'd.
Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd?

And our Author, in his Preface to his EICONOCLASTES; "I never was SO THIRSTY AFTER "FAME, nor so destitute of other hopes, and "meanes better, and more certain to attain it."

41. ——— *wept that he had liv'd so long*
Inglorious:—]

Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that, one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondring at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable? See Plutarch's Life of Cæsar. Others say, it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the Great—animadversa apud Herculis templum magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit; et quasi pertæsus ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum à se memorabile actum esset in ætate, qua jam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, &c. Suetonii Jul. Cæs. Cap. 7.

Newton.

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorius*, i. e. insensible to the charms of glory.

Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem sylvasque INGLORIUS,———
GEORG. ii. 485.

44. *Thou neither dost persuade me, &c.*—]

How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only sure basis, the approbation of the God of truth! There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance to assert, that he has comprised in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages. *Thyer.*

44. *Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth*
For empire's sake,—]

This refers to Ver. 422, and 427, of the SECOND Book.

48. *The people's praise, &c.*—]

We may compare with this and some of the following lines a stanza of Giles Fletcher.

Frail multitude! whose giddy law is list,
And best applause is windy flattering,
Most like the breath of which it doth consist,
No sooner blown, but as soon vanishing,
As much desir'd, as little profiting,
That makes the men that have it oft as light
As those that give it,———
CHRIST'S TRIUMPH OVER DEATH, St. 31.

And

And what the people but a herd confus'd,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?
They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues and be their talk,
Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?
His lot who dares be singularly good.
The intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
This is true glory and renown, when God

49. *And what the people but a herd confus'd,*
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and, well-weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?
They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;]

These lines are certainly no proof of a Democratic disposition in our Author.

56. *Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise.*]

This is an instance of that *play upon words*, in which, as Dr. Johnson justly observes, Milton "delighted too often" He seems to have fancied that in some places it had a particularly good effect. Possibly the following passage stood well in his own opinion.

For strength, from truth divided and from just,
Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
And ignominy, yet TO GLORY ASPIRES
VAIN GLORIOUS, and THROUGH INFAMY SEEKS FAME.
PARADISE LOST, vi. 381.

57. *His lot who dares be singularly good.*]

Bp. Newton conjectures that Milton might here allude to himself, "who *dared* to be as singular in "his opinions and in his conduct as any man what-"ever."—But the language of the poet in this place is perhaps only classical, as it might well have been suggested by Horace's

——— Sapere AUDE;
Incipe; VIVENDI RECTE qui prorogat horam,
Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis; ———
1. EPIST. ii. 40.

59. ——— *and glory scarce of few is rais'd.*]

GLORIAM latius fusam intelligo; CONSENSUM ENIM MULTORUM exigit. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * Quid intersit inter claritatem et gloriam dicam; gloria MULTORUM JUDICIIS constat, claritas bonorum.
Senec. EPIST. 102.

60. *This is true glory and renown, &c.*]

Here is a glory that is solid and substantial, *expressa*, as Tully says, *non adumbrata*; and that will endure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are perished. *Calton.*

The passage alluded to by Mr. Calton is well worth citing at large, particularly as it is not without its resemblance to some preceding sentiments of our Author, as well as to this immediate place.——Cum vero accedit eodem, quasi maximus quidam

Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises: thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth,
As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
He ask'd thee, "Hast thou seen my servant Job?"
Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;
Where glory is false glory, attributed

quidam magister, populus, atque omnis undique ad vitia consentiens multitudo, tum plane inficimur opinionum pravitate, naturaque desciscimus; ut nobis optimam naturam invidisse videantur, qui nihil melius homini, nihil magis expetendum, nihil præstantius honoribus, imperiis, populari gloria judicaverunt, ad quam fertur optimus quisque: veramque illam honestatem expetens, quam una natura maxime inquirit, in summa inanitate versatur, consectaturque nullam eminentem effigiem virtutis, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriæ; est enim gloria SOLIDA QUÆDAM RES, ET EXPRESSA, NON ADUMBRATA. Ea est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute; ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ, quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est a bonis viris repudianda.

TUSC. QUEST. iii. 2.

60. ——————— *when God*
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man—]

Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus! Ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus, utique si et provocavit! Non video, inquam, quid habet in terris Jupiter pulchrius, si convertere animum velit, quam ut spectet Catonem, jam partibus non semel fractis stantem, nihil ominus inter ruinas publicas rectum. Seneca, DE PROVIDENTIA, 2.

This celebrated passage of Seneca the amiably affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the afflictions of our Author. (Hayley's Life of Milton, p. 130.)—Possibly Milton himself, under a consciousness of his own determined integrity, (in which, as meriting and meeting divine approbation, he nobly prided himself,) might have intended in this place the same application.

62. ——————— *and divulges him through Heaven*]

Though fame DIVULGE HIM father of five sons,
All of gigantic size, ———
SAMS. AGON. 1248.

Cujus et extincti, propter divina reperta,
DIVULGATA vetus jam AD CŒLUM GLORIA FERTUR.
Lucret. vi. 8.

67. *He ask'd thee, "Hast thou seen my servant Job?"*]

Job, i. 8. *And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?*

Newton.

69. *Where glory is false glory, attributed*
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.]

In a passage cited from the Tuscular Questions, in a preceding note, Tully shews that true glory is really the praise of good men, and the echo, (or natural consequence,) of virtue. He afterwards proceeds to shew, that there "is a false semblance "of

To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame. 70
They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to over-run
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and inslave 75

" of this true glory, (a direct contrast of it,) which " originates in the injudicious applause of the " multitude, and is often bestowed upon the worst " actions." Illa autem, quæ se ejus imatricem esse vult, temeraria atque inconsiderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulcritudinemque corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines, cum quædam etiam præclara cuperent, eaque nescirent, nec ubi nec qualia essent, funditus alii everterunt suas civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt.——This passage is cited by Mr. Calton; who observes, that, " when " Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputations, Julius " Cæsar had overthrown the constitution of his " country, and was then in the plenitude of his " power; and Pompey had lost his life in the same " pursuit of glory."

71. *They err, who count it glorious to subdue*
By conquest far and wide, to over-run
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault: &c. &c.—]

Here might be an allusion intended to Lewis THE FOURTEENTH, who at this time began to disturb Europe, and whose vanity and ambition were gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned, from his numerous parasites.

We may here compare PARADISE LOST, xi. 691.

To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done
Of triumph, to be stil'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.

And again, Ver. 789, of the same Book.

—— in acts of prowess eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
Subduing nations, and atchiev'd thereby
Fame in the world, high titles and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth.

74. —————— *what do these worthies,*
But rob and spoil, &c. &c.—]

Thus Drummond, in his SHADOW OF THE JUDGMENT;

All live on earth by spoil * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Who most can ravage, rob, ransack, blaspheme,
Is held most virtuous, hath a WORTHY's name:——

And Thucydides, describing the ancient inhabitants of Greece, says, " They betook themselves " to robbing under the direction of persons by no " means despicable, and spent their lives chiefly in " plundering defenceless towns and villages; these " practices being so far from discreditable, that " they were attended with a certain degree of " honour."—ετραποντο προς ληστειαν, ηγεμενων ανδρων η των αδυνατωτατων —— —— —— κ προσπιπτοντες πολεσιν ατειχιστοις, κ κατα κωμας οικεμεναις, ηρπαζον, κ πον πλειστον τ βιε εντευθεν εποιεῦντο· ουκ εχοντος πω αισχυνην τουτ τ εργ, φεροντος δε τι κ δοξης μαλλον. L. i. C. 5.

75. *But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and inslave*
Peaceable nations, neighb'ring, or remote,
Made captive,—]

This description of the ravages of conquerors may have been copied from some of the accounts of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid describes

Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy,
Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worshipt with temple, priest and sacrifice,

describes the Getæ thus *spoiling*, *robbing*, *slaying*, *enslaving*, and *burning*:

Hostis, equo pollens longèque volante sagittâ,
Vicinam latè depopulatur humum.
Diffugiunt alii; nullisque tuentibus agros
Incustoditæ diripiuntur opes;
Ruris opes parvæ, pecus et stridentia plaustra,
Et quas divitias incola pauper habet.
Pars agitur vinctis post tergum capta lacertis,
Respiciens frustrà rura laremque suum.
Pars cadit hamatis miserè confixa sagittis;
Nam volucri ferro tinctile virus inest.
Quæ nequeunt secum ferre aut abducere, perdunt:
Et cremat insontes hostica flamma casas.
TRIST. iii. El. x. 55.

78. ——————— *who leave behind*
Nothing but ruin—]

Thus, Joel, ii. 3. *The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and* BEHIND THEM A DESOLATE WILDERNESS.

And Mr. Gray, in his BARD, has a similar description finely expressed, where he speaks of the conquests of Edward the Black Prince in France.

——— What terrors round him wait!
Amazement in his van, with Flight combin'd,
And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind.

81. ——————— *and must be titled Gods,*
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,]

The second Antiochus king of Syria was called Antiochus ΘΕΟΣ, or *the God*: and the learned author De Epoch. Syro-Macedonum, p. 109. speaks of a coin of Epiphanes inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙ, *Benefactors*, and ΣΩΤΗΡΕΣ, *Deliverers*. *Calton.*

In Froelick's *Annales regum et rerum Syriæ* there are prints of five different coins of Antiochus Epiphanes, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The first Antiochus was called ΣΩΤΗΡ; as was the first Ptolemy king of Egypt. Two of the Ptolemies assumed the title of ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ.——Diodorus Siculus relates that the Syracusans with one voice saluted Gelon by the titles of Benefactor, Deliverer, and King.——μιᾳ φωνῃ παντας αποκαλειν ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ, και ΣΩΤΗΡΑ, και ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ. L. ii. 26.

The title of ευεργετης as assumed by tyrants is referred to, Luke, xxii. 25.—*And they that exercise authority over them* ARE CALLED BENEFACTORS.

When Demetrius Poliorcetes returned from his expedition to Corcyra, the Athenians received him with divine honours, and in their hymns and chorusses celebrated him as "the only true God, for "that all other Gods were asleep, or were gone "abroad, or did not exist."——ως ειη μονος θεος αληθινος, οι δε αλλοι καθευδουσιν, ἡ αποδημοῦσιν, ἡ ουκ εισιν. Democharcs ap. Athenæ. L. 6.

T (One

(One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other,)
Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance: I mention still
Him whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
Made famous in a land and times obscure;
Who names not now with honor patient Job?
Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable

84 *(One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other,)*]

Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his over-grown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate. *Newton.*

86. *Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,*]

Thus, in COMUS, those persons are described who drink of the Enchanter's Cup;

Soon as the potion works, their human countenance,
The express resemblance of the Gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
All other parts remaining as they were;
And they, so perfect is their misery,
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before,
And all their friends and native home forget,
TO ROLL WITH PLEASURE IN A SENSUAL STYE.

68.

To roll in vice is a mode of expression frequently used by Cicero.——in domesticis est germanitatis STUPRIS VOLUTATUS.

Oratio DE HARUSPIC. RESPONS. 20.

Quis umquam nepos tam libere est cum scortis, quam hic cum sororibus VOLUTATUS?

IBID. 27.

—— cum omnes IN OMNI GENERE ET SCELERUM ET FLAGITIORUM VOLUTENTUR.——

EPIST. AD FAMILIAR. IX. 3.

Non jusjurandum reliquisti? non amicos prodidisti? non parenti manus intulisti? non denique IN OMNI DEDECORE VOLUTATUS ES?

AD HERENN. IV. 19.

96. *Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable*
By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing?,)
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.

Milton here does not scruple with Erasmus to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that

By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing?,)
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffer'd, if young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
Who sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.
To whom the Tempter murmuring thus reply'd.
Think not so slight of glory; therein least

that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel, than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. *Thyer.*

Mr. Pope in his TEMPLE OF FAME, as Bp. Newton observes, has made Socrates the principal figure among the better sort of heroes.

> Much suffering heroes next their honours claim,
> Those of less noisy and less guilty fame,
> Fair Virtue's silent train; SUPREME OF THESE
> HERE EVER SHINES THE GOD-LIKE SOCRATES.

101. ——— *if young African for fame*
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,]

This shews plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be said with propriety to have *freed his wasted country from Punic rage*, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punic war.
Newton.

104. *And loses, though but verbal, his reward.*]

In the beginning of the sixth Chapter of St. Matthew, where the Pharisaical ostentation of good works and devotion is censured, it is twice said, *Verily I say unto you they have their reward:* in which passage some persons have wished rather to render απεχουσι *they hinder*, or *prevent*, their reward. It is possible that Milton had the passage, thus rendered, in his mind.

106. ——— *I seek not mine, but his*
That sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.]

John, vii. 18. *He that* SEEKETH HIS GLORY THAT SENT HIM, *the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.* Where Bp. Pearce renders αδικια *falsehood*, rather than *unrighteousness*. (See his Commentary on the place; and likewise his Note on Luke, xvi. 9.)—And John, viii. 49. & 50, Jesus says, *I honour my Father*———*I* SEEK NOT MINE OWN GLORY."

109. *Think not so slight of glory;*—]

There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the Tempter than

Resembling thy great Father: he seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven
By all his Angels glorify'd, requires
Glory from men, from all men good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption;
Above all sacrifice, or hallow'd gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,

this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of *the father of lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author's great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality. *Thyer.*

118. *Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,*
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;—]

It is observed by Bp. Warburton, with a reference to a passage in the *twelfth* Oration of Themistius, that the poet puts into the mouth of the Devil the absurd notions of the apologists for Paganism. The passage he here alludes to is thus cited in his DIVINE LEGATION, B. ii. Sect. 6. Ταυτη νομιζε γαννυσθαι τη ποικιλια τον τε παντος Αρχηγετην· αλλως Συρως εθελει θρησκευειν, αλλως Ἑλληνας, αλλως Αιγυπτιους. "The great lord and governor of "the earth seems to be delighted with these diversities of Religions. It is his will that the Syrians "worship him one way, the Greeks another, and "the Egyptians yet another."—It should be observed however that in Themistius (Ed. Petav. Paris. 1618.) instead of θρησκευειν, we find πολιτευεσθαι. ——In his Notes upon this part of the Divine Legation, the Bishop likewise cites a passage from the Jesuit Tachard; where a similar mode of reasoning forms the answer given by a King of Siam to a French Embassador, who urged him, in his master's name, to embrace the Christian religion. " Je m'etonne que le roy de France mon bon ami " s'interesse si fort dans une affaire qui regarde " Dieu, où il semble que Dieu même ne prenne " aucun interest, et qu'il a entiérement laissé a " nôtre discretion. Car ce vray Dieu, qui a créé " le ciel et la terre et toutes les creatures qu'on " y voit, et qui leur a donné des natures et des " inclinations si differentes, ne pouvoit il pas, s'il " eût voulu, en donnant aux hommes des corps et " des ames semblables, leur inspirer les mêmes sen- " timens pour la religion qu'il falloit suivre, et " pour la culte qui luy etoit le plus agreable, et " faire naître toutes les nations dans une même " loy? Cet ordre parmi les hommes et cette unite " de religion dependant absolument de la Pro- " vidence divine, qui pouvoit aussi aisément in- " troduire dans le monde que la diversité des " sectes qui s'y sont etablies de tout tems; ne " doit en pas croire que le vray Dieu prend autant " de plaisir à estre honoré par des cultes et des " ceremonies differentes, qu' à estre glorifié par " une prodigieuse quantité de creatures qui le " loüent

Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;
From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts.
To whom our Saviour fervently reply'd.
And reason; since his word all things produc'd,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to shew forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense
From them who could return him nothing else,
And, not returning that, would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompence, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence!
But why should man seek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs,
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?
Who, for so many benefits receiv'd,
Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,

" loüent chacune a sa maniere?" *Voyage de Siam*, I. v. p. 231, 232. Ed. Amst. 1688.

128. *The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense*]

The same sentiment occurs in the PARADISE LOST, iv. 46.

What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks?
How due!———— *Newton.*

132. *Hard recompence, unsuitable return*
For so much good, so much beneficence!—]

Ah wherefore? He deserv'd no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence,———

PARADISE LOST, iv. 42.

138. ——— *recreant*—]

In Shakespeare's KING JOHN, Act III. Sc. 2, where Constance reproaches the Duke of Austria with

And so of all true good himself despoil'd,
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs;
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance.
So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin, for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all;
Yet of another plea bethought him soon.
Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem;
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
To sit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's side thy father; though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms;
Judæa now and all the promis'd land,

with having deserted her cause, and being perjured and a coward, she says to him;

Thou wear a lion's hide? Doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's skin on those RECREANT limbs.

And Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. vi. 28.

Thou RECREANT knight.——

Where Mr. Warton observes that "recreant "knight" is a term of romance; and cites the following passage from the MORTE ARTHUR. "Than said the knight to the king, thou art in "my daunger whether me lyst to save thee or to "sley thee; and, but thou yield thee as overcome "and RECREANT, thou shalt dye. As for death, "said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh; "but as to yield me to thee as RECREANT, &c.

Recreant, or *recreditus*, in the feudal signification imported the highest degree of treason, baseness, and cowardice. Du Cange says, "probrosum adeo "censuit vocabulum, ut illud describere noluerit "Ranulfus de Glanvillus."

Reduc'd

Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
Obeys Tiberius; nor is always rul'd
With temperate sway; oft have they violated
The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain
Thy right, by sitting still, or thus retiring?
So did not Maccabeus: he indeed

158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*]

Judæa was reduced to the form of a Roman Province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. *Newton.*

159. ——— *nor is always rul'd*
With temperate sway—]

The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governor. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium.* *Newton.*

It is there related of Pilate that he had erected and dedicated some golden shields to Tiberius, not more to do honour to the Emperor than to vex the people, ουκ επι τιμη Τιβεριω μαλλον, η ενεκα του λυπησαι το πληθος. On their petioning him to have them removed, he is described replying to them with much severity, and as being of an inexorable disposition, σφρως αντιλεγοντος, ην γαρ την φυσιν ακαμπης. On this the Jews threatened to apply to Tiberius himself, whereupon Pilate began to fear, lest his various other misconducts should be reported to the Emperor.—Το τελευταιον τουτο μαλιστα αυτον εξετραχυνε, καταδεισαντα μη τω [illegible] πρεσβευσαμενοι, και της αλλης αυτου επιτροπης, εξελεγξωσι τας δωροδοκιας, τας υβρεας, τας αρπαγας, τας αικιας, τας επηρειας, τους ακριτους και επ' αλληλας φονους.

Leg. ad Caium. p. 799. Ed. Col. Allob.

Josephus speaks of the murders committed on the Jews by Pilate, ANTIQ. JUD. L. xviii. C. 5.

160. ——— *oft have they violated*
The temple, &c.—]

Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See 2 Macab. C. v. *Newton.*

165. *So did not Maccabeus, &c.*—]

The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as *Judas Maccabeus* had done against the other. He fled indeed into the wilderness from the persecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms against him, and obtained so many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and sanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the great: though their father Mattathias, (the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmoneans,) was

no

Retir'd unto the desert, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
That by strong hand his family obtain'd,
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurp'd,
With Modin and her suburbs once content.
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
And duty; zeal and duty are not slow,
But on occasion's forelock watchful wait:

no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See 1 Maccab. Josephus, Prideaux, &c. *Newton.*

171. *If kingdom move thee not—*]

Kingdom here, like *regnum* in Latin, signifies *kingly state*, the *circumstances of regal power*; or, as our Author in his Political works writes, *kingship*.

171. ——————— *let move thee zeal*]

This is a bolder Latinism than is quite consonant with English Poetry. The same may be observed of the following passage, in the beginning of the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST.

——— ME, of these
Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument
REMAINS.———

And again, ii. 443,

—— what REMAINS HIM less
Than unknown dangers and as hard escape?—

Dr. Johnson, in his life of Milton, observes that "he formed his style by a perverse and pedantic "principle. He was desirous to use English words "with a foreign idiom. But such" adds the eminent biographer, "is the power of his poetry, that "his call is obeyed without resistance, the reader "feels himself in captivity to a higher and a nobler "mind, and criticism sinks in admiration."

173. *But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.*]

Spenser personifies Occasion, as an old hag with a grey *forelock*.

Her locks, that loathly were and hoary grey,
Grew all afore, and loosely hung unroll'd;
But all behind was bald and worn away,
That none thereof could ever taken hold;
FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. iv. St. iv.

And in Stanza 12, Sir Guyon

——— fast her hent
By the HOARE LOCKS THAT HUNG BEFORE HER EYES,

Spenser likewise, SONNET 70, gives Time the same forelock.

Go to my love, where she is careless laid,
Yet in her winter's bower not well awake;
Tell her the joyous time will not be staid,
Unless she do him by the FORELOCK take.

Shakespeare, in his OTHELLO, has

To take the safest OCCASION BY THE FRONT.

The Greek and Latin Poets also describe occasion, i. e. *time* or *opportunity*, "with a forelock."

Thus Phædrus, in his OCCASIO DEPICTA,

Calvus, COMOSA FRONTE, nudo corpore,
Quem si occupâris, teneas; elapsum semel
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere;———

And, in an Epigram on a statue of Time, in the ANTHOLOGIA;

Ἡ δε κομη, τι κατ' οψιν; ὑπανλιασαντι λαβεσθαι.
Νη Δια. τα 'ξοπιθεν προς τι φαλακρα πελει;
Τον γαρ απαξ πληοῖσι παραθρεξαντα με ποσσιν,
Ουτις ἐθ' ἱμειρων δραξεται εξοπιθεν.

Thus

They themselves rather are occasion best;
Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free
Thy country from her Heathen servitude.
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign;
The happier reign, the sooner it begins:
Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?
To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
All things are best fulfill'd in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
If of my reign prophetic Writ hath told,
That it shall never end, so, when begin,
The Father in his purpose hath decreed;
He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
What if he hath decreed that I shall first
Be try'd in humble state, and things adverse,

Thus translated by Bergius;

Quid crinita autem frons monstrat? Ut obvia prendar.
Cur calvum parte est posteriore caput?
Quod semel oblatum qui me permittit abire,
Copia ei in reliquum non datur ulla mei.

175. *Zeal of thy father's house*—]

Psalm lxix. 9. *For the* ZEAL OF THINE HOUSE *hath eaten me up;* which passage is applied in the New Testament (*John*, ii. 17.) to the zeal shewed by our Lord for the honour of his Father's house, when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.

183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:*]

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven. Eccles. iii. 1.
Newton.

187. *He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.*]

It is not for you to know the TIMES AND THE SEASONS, *which the Father hath put in his own power.* Acts, i. 7.
Newton.

187. ——— *times and seasons roll.*]

Thus Virgil; Æn. iii. 366.

——— sic fata Deûm rex
Sortitur, VOLVITQUE vices ———

And Claudian, in his Address to the Sun;

Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis
VOLVIS inexhausto redeuntia SÆCULA motu,
Sparge diem meliore comâ———
IN PROB. ET OLYB. CONS.

189. *Be try'd in humble state, and things adverse,*]

EXPLORANT ADVERSA VIROS——
SIL. ITAL. iv. 605.

By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first
Well hath obey'd; just trial, ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it thee, when I begin
My everlasting kingdom? Why art thou
Solicitous? What moves thy inquisition?
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy destruction?

192. *Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,*
Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first
Well hath obey'd;—]

Thus, in the PARADISE LOST, xii. 561;

Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His Providence, and on him sole depend,
* * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * that suffering for truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And to the faithful death the gate of life;
Taught this by his example whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.

195. ——— *best reign, who first*
Well hath obey'd;—]

Here probably the Author remembered Cicero. ——Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est; et qui modeste paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse. DE LEG. iii. 2.
Newton.

The same sentiment, as Bp. Newton observes, occurs in Aristotle and Plato.—Αλλα μεν επαινειται γε το δυνασθαι αρχειν κ αρχεσθαι, κ πολιτου δοκιμου η αρετη εστι το δυνασθαι κ αρχειν, κ αρχεσθαι καλως. Aristot. POLITIC. iii. 4. "To be at once capable of "governing and ready to obey is praiseworthy; "neither is the truly excellent citizen more distin-"guished by his able government, than by his "exemplary obedience." And again—Ουκ εστιν ευ αρξαι μη αρχθεντα. IBID. "He can never be fit "to reign, who has never himself been practised "in obedience."—Plato also (DE LEG. vi. p. 762. Ed. Ser.) lays it down as an incontrovertible truth—ω; ὁ μη δουλευσας ουδ' αν δεσποινης γενοιτο αξιος επαινε, "that he, who has never been in the situation of "a subject, will never make a meritorious ruler."

201. *Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,]*

Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars.—Milton, in the first Book of this Poem, terms our Lord

——— our morning-star, then in his rise,—

294.

To

To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, reply'd.
Let that come when it comes, all hope is lost
Of my reception into grace: what worse?
For where no hope is left, is left no fear:
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst: worst is my port,
My harbour and my ultimate repose;
The end I would attain, my final good.
My error was my error, and my crime
My crime; whatever, for itself condemn'd;
And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
Reign, or reign not; though to that gentle brow
Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspèct and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,

206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear:*]

Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the FOURTH Book of the PARADISE LOST;

So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear!
Farewell remorse! All good to me is lost:
Evil, be thou my good!———

Thyer.

217. *From that placid aspèct—*]

Spenser, Shakespeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote *aspèct* thus accented on the second syllable; as Milton has likewise always done in his Paradise Lost.—I cannot forbear citing one instance on account of the exquisite beauty of the passage. It is a similar description of the same Divine Person, who had just been offering himself a ransom for man.

His words here ended, but his MEEK ASPÈCT
Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
To mortal man———

PARADISE LOST, iii. 266.

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the cross, particularly refer to our Lord's *placid*, or *meek*, aspect;

Heu! quem te, nate, aspicio? Tuane illa SERENA
LUCE MAGIS FACIES ASPECTU GRATA?———

CHRISTIAD, v. 860.

219. *Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,*]

(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell,)
A shelter, and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
If I then to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
Happiest, both to thyself and all the world,
That thou, who worthiest art, should'st be their king?
Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high;
No wonder, for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider,
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem, few days'
Short sojourn: and what thence could'st thou observe?
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,

Milton in one of his earliest poems, an Ode ON THE DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT, has a similar expression.

But oh! why didst thou not stay here below
To bless us with thy heaven-lov'd innocence,
To slake his wrath whom sin hath made our foe,
To turn swift-rushing black perdition hence,
Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence,
TO STAND 'TWIXT US AND OUR DESERVED SMART?
STANZA 10.

221. ——— *a kind of shading cool*
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.—]

In the TWENTY-FIFTH Chapter of Isaiah, the Prophet addressing God, terms him *a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm,* A SHADOW FROM THE HEAT, V. 4.

235. *And once a year Jerusalem*—]

At the feast of the passover. Luke, ii. 41.
Newton.

237. *The world thou hast not seen, much less its glory,*]

Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and THE GLORY OF THEM. Mat. iv. 8.

Best

Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever
Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,
(As he, who seeking asses, found a kingdom,)
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous:
But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state;
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,
And regal mysteries; that thou may'st know
How best their opposition to withstand.

WITH that, (such power was given him then,) he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.
It was a mountain at whose verdant feet

242. *(As he who seeking asses found a kingdom,)*

Saul, seeking his father's asses, came to Samuel, and by him was anointed king. 1 Sam. ix.

Newton.

253. *It was a mountain, &c.*—]

All that the Scripture saith is, that the Devil took Jesus up *into an exceeding high mountain* (Mat. iv. 8); which commentators generally suppose to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or near the wilderness. The Ancients speak little concerning it; but the Moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Quarantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, speaking of the plain of Jericho, says, "we descended into "it, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. "As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up "on the left hand, and, going about one hour "that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania; "which they say is the mountain into which the "Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted "him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms "and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew "stiles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its "ascent not only difficult but dangerous."——But this is all conjecture; and, as the Scripture has not specified any particular place, the poet was at liberty in this point to suit it to his own fancy. By his description here he must mean Mount Taurus, for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of Mount Taurus which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia,

A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255

and which contains the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Το δ'ουν νοτιωτατον (βορειοτατον) μαλιστα εστιν ὁ Ταυρος ὁριζων την Αρμενιαν απο της Μεσοποταμιας. Ενταυθεν δ'αμφοτεροι ρεουσιν οἱ την Μεσοποταμιαν εγκυκλεμενοι ποταμοι. Strabo, L. xi. p. 521. *Newton.*

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Mesopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was sometimes called simply Mount Taurus, and sometimes the Gordyæan mountains; in the middle of which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius. But this mountainous range does not contain the sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although from every part of it lesser contributory streams flow into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by Bp. Newton from Strabo, ρεωσιν signifies only that the two rivers *flow through*, or *amongst*, these mountains, and not that they *spring*, or *have their sources*, in them. That such is here the sense of ρεωσιν appears from another passage of the same ancient geographer in this part of his work, where, having traced the course of Mount Taurus eastward to the Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these mountains being no further interrupted than by the course of the river as it *flows through the middle* of them—ορη συνεχη τοις μεν προειρημενοις, πλην οσον διακοπτει ΡΕΩΝ δια μεσων ὁ ποταμος. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original sources of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime source of the Euphrates he carries very far north, (as Ptolemy had also done,) and affirms that the springs of the two rivers are two thousand five hundred *stadia*, (which is above four hundred miles), distant from each other. Possibly there is some error here, as Eustathius, (on Dionysius, V. 985.) says they are only one thousand five hundred *stadia* apart. As the mountains, which constitute the head or northern boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and are absolutely the most southern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted, they are justly described by Strabo, νοτιωτατον; and why Bp. Newton should give βορειοτατον, as an hypothetical emendation in a parenthesis, or why Xylander should render the passage "*maxime ad septentriones accedens*," I do not comprehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical scene. Milton might therefore, not without reason, be supsupposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Bp. Newton: and indeed "from his "side two rivers "flow'd" seems almost an exact translation of εντευθεν οἱ αμφοτεροι ρεῦσιν, &c.—But still, all circumstances considered, I conceive this was not the exact spot which he had selected in his mind for his "specular mount." We must recollect that, at the conclusion of the THIRD Book of his PARADISE LOST, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is said that Eden

——— in his view
Lay pleasant.———

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to survey Eden, was certainly owing to his considering it as the most elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected from Strabo, who, having traced the course of the mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather north-east, and having described the Gordyæan mountains as being higher than any parts which he had before considered, says, "from thence it rises "still higher, and is distinguished by the name of "Niphates,"—επειτα πλεον εξαιρεται, και καλειται Νιφατης.——The object of the poet, in this part of the PARADISE REGAINED, certainly was to select a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south east, but sufficiently central and elevated to command the Caspian sea, Artaxata, and other places specified,

The one winding, the other strait, and left between
Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,

specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his descriptions. It may be observed also that it rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first country shewed to our Lord. As to what is said, that *from its side two rivers flow'd*, the sources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side of this mountain; and several ancient authors have supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment preserved by Seneca; "Sallustius, auctor certissimus, asserit TIGRIN ET EUPHRATEM UNO FONTE MANARE in Armenia, qui per diversa euntes longius dividantur, spatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur."—Boethius likewise, (CONS. PHILOSOPH. L. v.) says positively,

Tigris et Euphrates UNO SE FONTE resolvunt;

And Lucan, L. iii. 256.

Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus
Euphrates, quos NON DIVERSIS FONTIBUS edit
Persis;———

on which passage Grotius observes, that *non diversis* means *parum distantibus*, but adds "vulgo tamen creditum unum habuisse fontem." It is also observable that one principal source of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no considerable distance north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this river been carried by other geographers so far north, as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it.—It may be further remarked, that the descriptions of the Poet in other respects point out Niphates as the "specular mount," in preference to Mount Masius or any point of the Taurus between that mountain and the Euphrates; as in such a station, the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian empire,

As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,

seems highly improper, when the speaker was standing so near the very bank of the last river.—Besides had the spectators of this geographical scene been placed on Mount Masius, or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the plain "at the feet of these mountains" would have been *only* Mesopotamia. But the Poet positively distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his *great plain*, that lay at the foot of that vast range of Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be considered as the highest and most central point. The latter he describes

A spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide;

while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it

Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd.

253. *It was a mountain, at whose verdant feet*
A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,
Lay pleasant;—]

It was a hill
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
STRETCH'D OUT TO THE AMPLEST REACH OF PROSPECT LAY.
PARADISE LOST, xi. 377.

256. *The one winding, the other strait*—]

Strabo, speaking of these two rivers, says the Euphrates "is the largest, and passes through a greater tract of country with a winding stream." Εστι δε μειζων ὁ Ευφρατης, και πλειω διεξεισι χωραν, σκολιῳ τῳ ρειθρῳ.—L. xi. p. 521.—And Dionysius describes it flowing at first for a considerable way directly southward, then making several windings eastward, before it passes through Babylon;

——— πρωτον μεν απ' ηριος Αρμενιοιο
Μακρος επι νοτον εισι, παλιν δ' αγκωνας ἑλιξας
Αυτην ηελιοιο, μεσην Βαβυλωνα περησας,———
978.

Statius gives it the epithet *vagus*, 5 SYLV. i. 89.

Quid VAGUS EUPHRATES, quid ripa binominis Istri.

The rapidity of the Tigris, and the straitness of its course, are noticed by Dionysius;

——— ποταμων

Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills; 260

—— ποταμῶν ωκιστος απαντων
Τιγρις εὔρρειτης φερεται, ροον ἴσον ελαυνων.
983.

257. ———— *with less rivers intervein'd,*]

The word *intervein'd* may here serve as a clue to lead us to a passage, which was very probably in Milton's mind in this place. Quintus Curtius, having spoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "Causa "fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, "toto fere solo propter VENAS AQUARUM resu- "dante. L. v. C. 1.

258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea;*]

Strabo describes these two rivers, after having encircled Mesopotamia, joining their streams near Babylon, and flowing into the Persian Gulph: συναπτοντις αλληλοις εγγυς κατα την Βαβυλωνιαν, ἰ α εκδιδοντες εις την κατα Περσας θαλατταν. L. xi. p. 521.

259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil and wine;*]

Thus PARADISE LOST, xii. 18.;

Laboring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
CORN, WINE, AND OIL;——

And Ovid, 2. AMOR. xvi. 19.;

Terra FERAX CERERIS, multoque feracior UVÆ;
Dat quoque BACCIFERAM PALLADA gratus ager.

Corn, wine, and oil, are very frequently joined together in Scripture, as the productions of the earth most necessary to the support of human life, or most conducive to its gratification. Deut. vii. 13. xi. 14. 2 Chron. xxxii. 28.—Psalm. iv. 7.—civ. 15. In Jotham's Fable (Judges, ix.) the vine and the olive are introduced as two of the most valuable trees. It is there said of wine that it *cheereth God and Man*, that is, the high and low, princes and peasants, all conditions of men; and of oil, that by it they *honour God and Man;* they used it in their sacrifices, they made oblations of it, and anointed with it the priests, their garments, and all their holy things; they also anointed kings with it, and any great persons to whom they meant to do honour. Oils and unguents were much in use throughout the East, at all entertainments. Hence the Psalmist, in acknowledgment of God's bounty to him, says, *thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over.* Psalm xxiii. 5. And (Luke, vii. 46.) our Lord says to the Pharisee, at whose house he was entertained, *Mine head with oil thou didst not anoint.*

Bp. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites the following passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been speaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Ου μεν τοι κεινης γε νομης ανοσσατο βωτης,
Ουδ' ὁστις συριγγι κερωνυχα Παια γεραιρων,
Μηλοις αργαυλοισιν εφισπεδαι· ωδε μεν ὑλην
Παντοιην φυτοεργος ανηρ αθερισσατο καρπῶν.

No herdsman ere those pastures rich disdain'd;
No shepherd swain, who, on his flocks afield,
Tending, attunes his vocal reed to Pan
The horn-hoof'd Deity; no planter scorns,
As worthless his regard, the trees that here
With fruits of various kinds abundant rise.

Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the "fair champain," between the two rivers. "Inter Tigrim et Euphratem jacentia tam "uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora "dicantur, ne satietas perimat." L. v. 1.——And Strabo terms Mesopotamia ευβοτος χωρα, κ᾽ ευερης, *a country abounding in pastures and rich vegetation.* L. xvi. p. 747.——But the greater part of this "large prospect," at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative, or literal; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to shew.

Huge

Huge cities and high tower'd, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.
To this high mountain' top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

WELL have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st
Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,
Aràxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,

261. *Huge cities and high-tower'd—*]

So also in the ALLEGRO, 117.

TOWER'D CITIES please us then,——

Turritæ urbes is very common amongst the Latin poets. *Thyer.*

Ευπυργος πολις is no less common with the Greek Authors. Thus Hesiod,

——— Παρα δ' ΕΥΠΥΡΓΟΣ πολις ανδρων.

SCUT. HERCUL. 270.

Whence, PARADISE LOST, xi. 640.

CITIES OF MEN with LOFTY GATES and TOWERS.

Milton also, in his FIRST ELEGY, thus speaks of London;

Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum, structa colonis,
TURRIGERUM late conspicienda CAPUT.

73.

264. *For barren desert fountainless and dry.*]

Fountainless, a word of much effect, was probably suggested by the Greek ανυδρος.—Diodorus Siculus speaking of the Arabia Deserta, terms it ερημος και ανυδρος; and Strabo describes the parts of Mesopotamia, that lay most southward, ανυδρα και λυπρα οντα.

268. ——————— *temples and towers,*]

Thus in the succeeding Book, V. 33;

On each side an imperial city stood,
With TOWERS AND TEMPLES proudly elevate——

and in our Author's most beautiful SONNET, *When the assault was intended against the city.*

Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower;
The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when TEMPLE AND TOWER,
Went to the ground;———

Mr. Warton observes that TEMPLE AND TOWER is a frequent combination in the old metrical romances.

269. ——————— *here thou behold'st*
Assyria and its empire's ancient bounds,
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on &c.]

The situation of Mount Niphates, it has been already observed, was particularly adapted for this view, in which the Poet traces accurately the bounds of the Assyrian Empire in its greatest extent; *the river Araxes and the Caspian Lake* to the north; *the river Indus* to the east; *the river Euphrates* to the west, and *oft beyond* as far as the Mediterranean; and *the Persian Bay* and *the Deserts of Arabia* to the south.

And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth:
Here Nineveh, of length within her wall 275

274. —— *inaccessible*—]

Solinus describes in a similar manner the most desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he says, "A tergo "barbarorum variæ nationes, et SOLITUDO IN- "ACCESSA.—— C. 30.

274. ———— *the Arabian drought*:—]

This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine effect. We might suppose it suggested by Virgil's

HINC DESERTA SITI REGIO,——
ÆN. iv. 42:

Or by Lucan's

—— calidas LIBYÆ SITIENTIS arenas.

Or still more by a description of the wilderness of Barca in Silius Italicus, who terms it

—— Barce SITIENTIBUS ARIDA VENIS.
iii. 251.

But, by adopting the reading of the elder editions, we find the very phrase in a passage of the last-mentioned poet:

Hic, contra LIBYCAMQUE SITIM Caurosque furentes,
Cernit devexas Lilybæon nobile Chelas.
xiv. 74.

It is true, in Drakenborch's edition, where this reading is noticed, it is branded with a "Pessime "priscæ editiones:" but, had every copy united in reading *Libyamque situm*, surely there is a prosaic flatness in the words, totally inconsistent with the rest of the description. *Libyca* SITIS would be much more consonant to the *Cauri furentes* and the *Nobile Lilybæon*.

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a description of the "sandy desert" is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage more at large than is necessary, from an opinion that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader of taste. It is taken from the *Address to the Deity*, which concludes the Poems of *George Sandys*, printed in 1653, under the title of A PARAPHRASE ON DIVINE POEMS. The Author had been a great traveller; and published his Travels in *Turky*, *Egypt*, and the *Holy Land*.

O who hath tasted of thy clemency
In greater measure, or more oft than I?
My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,
O thou that went'st along in all my way,
To where the morning with perfumed wings
From the high mountains of Panchæa springs;
To that new-found-out world, where sober night
Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight;
To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns
And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains;
To Libyan wastes, WHOSE THIRST NO SHOWERS ASSUAGE,
And where swoln Nilus cools the lion's rage.

Sandys was the translator of Ovid. Part of this volume of Poems consists of a *Paraphrase of the Psalms*; with tunes composed by Lawes, who originally set the songs in Comus to music. This paraphrase Mr. Warton, in a Note on Milton's *Sonnet addressed to Lawes*, justly terms admirable. There is also a *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*, in so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it in a similar attempt.

275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*—]

This city was situated on the Tigris; *of length*, *i. e.* of circuit, *within her wall several days journey*; according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. ii. its circuit was sixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is said to be *an exceeding great city of three days journey*, twenty miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveller: *built by Ninus old*, after whom the city is said to be called *Nineveh*; *of that first golden monarchy the seat*, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet stiles *golden monarchy*, probably in allusion to the *golden head* of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires; *and seat of Salmanassar*, who in the reign

Several days journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;
There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,

reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and twenty-one years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called *a long captivity*. *Newton.*

277. —— *that first golden monarchy*—]

Golden is here generally descriptive of the splendor of monarchy. It may refer to what is said in history of the magnificence of the kings of Persia, their *golden* palaces, *golden* thrones, *golden* beds, &c.

Thus, PARADISE LOST, ii. 3.

Or where the gorgeous east, with richest hand,
SHOWERS ON HER KINGS BARBARIC PEARL AND GOLD.

Golden might also have a political reference to Milton's apprehensions of the great expences of monarchy; with respect to which, in justifying his republican principles, he had said that "the "trappings of a monarchy would set up an or-"dinary commonwealth."

280. *There Babylon, &c.*—]

As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris, so was Babylon on the Euphrates; *the wonder of all tongues*, for it is reckoned among the seven wonders of the world; *as ancient* as Nineveh, for some say it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus, who built Nineveh; *but rebuilt by him*, i. e. whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar, (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built, &c.* Dan. iv. 30.); *who twice Judah led captive*, in the reign of Jehoiakim, 2 Kings, xxiv. and eleven years after in the reign of Zedekiah, *and laid waste Jerusalem*, 2 Kings. xxv; in which desolate condition it lay many years, *till Cyrus set them free*, and restored the Jews to their country again, Ezra, i. and ii. *Newton.*

280. —— *the wonder of all tongues,*]

In the PARADISE LOST, i. 693, Milton speaks of those who

—— WONDERING TELL
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,——

That Babylon was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world is noticed by Strabo, who ascribes this to the great height and solidity of its walls; διοπερ των επτα θεαματων λεγεται. L. xvi. p. 738.—Diodorus Siculus describes the height of the walls as incredible to those who had only heard it reported; το δ' υψος απιστον τοις ακουσιν. L. ii. Pomponius Mela terms Babylon "urbs MIRÆ mag-"nitudinis." L. i. C. 11.—Quintus Curtius speaking of this city, when it surrendered to Alexander, says, "ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas, non "regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet "haud immerito convertit." L. v. C. 1.—And Herodotus says it was adorned with a magnificence at that time unexampled;—εκεκοσμητο δε ως ουδεν αλλο πολισμα των ημεις ιδμεν. L. i. p. 84. Ed. Wesseling.

Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,
His city, there thou seest, and Bactra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shews,
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

284. ——————— *Persepolis,*
His city,—]

The city of Cyrus; if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian Empire. *Newton.*

Pliny (L. vi. C. 26.) terms Persepolis, *Persici regni caput;* and Diodorus Siculus, L. 17. μητροπολιν της Περσων βασιλειας. Ælian says that Cyrus built a palace there. De Animal. L. i. C. 59.

285. ——————— *Bactra there;*—]

The chief city of Bactriana a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness; mentioned by Virgil, Georg. ii. 136. *Newton.*

286. *Ecbatana her structure vast there shews,*]

Ancient historians speak of *Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city. Herodotus compares it to Athens, L. i. C. 98; Strabo calls it a great city, μεγαλη πολις, L. ii; and Polybius, L. 10. says it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. *Newton.*

The walls of Ecbatana (*Judith*, C. i. V. 2,) were built with stones three cubits broad and six long; their height in the whole being seventy cubits, and their breadth fifty. Supposing the cubit to have been only a foot and half, this made them one hundred and five feet high, and seventy-five broad. These walls were, however, destroyed by Esar-haddon, during the life-time of Deioces who had built them, and who died six hundred and forty-nine years before Christ, having reigned over Media fifty-three years. Deioces, in *Judith*, is called by the name of Arphaxad, and Esar-haddon by that of Nabuchodonosor. *See* Prideaux, Part i. Book 1.

287. *And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;*—]

The name signifies *a city with an hundred gates;* and so the capital city of Parthia was called, Εκατομπυλον το των Παρθυαιων βασιλειον. Strabo. L. xi. p. 514. *Newton.*

288. *Susa by Choaspes,*—]

Susa, the Shushan of the holy scriptures, and the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was situated on the river *Choaspes*, or Eulœus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel; or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa form one great river, sometimes called by one name, and sometimes by the other. *Newton.*

Dionysius describes the Choaspes flowing by Susa,

—— παρα τε ρειων χθονα Σεσων.
1074.

288. ——————— *amber stream,*]

Thus in the Paradise Lost, iii. 358.

And where the river of bliss through midst of heaven
Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her AMBER STREAM;—

where Bp. Newton observes that the clearness of amber was proverbial with the ancients, and cites

—— ΑΛΕΚΤΡΙΝΟΝ υδωρ.
Callimach. Hymn ad Cer. 29.

And Virgil. Georg. iii. 522.

—— non qui per saxa volutus
PURIOR ELECTRO campum petit amnis:——

Sabrina the River-Goddess, in Comus, is addressed, Ver. 863, as having

—— AMBER-DROPPING hair;

where Mr. Warton observes that her hair *drops amber*, because, in the poet's idea, her stream was supposed to be transparent.

The

The drink of none but kings; of later fame,
Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290

289. *The drink of none but kings*—]

If we examine it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of the river *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes, (or Eulæus,) as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικον ὑδωρ *regia lympha*, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs; and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet so it happens that Ælian, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of *Choaspes* might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia. τατε αλλα εφοδια εἰπετο τῳ Ξερξῃ πολυτελειας και αλαζονειας πεπληρωμενα, και ην και ὑδωρ ηκολυθει το εκ τυ Χοασπυ. Επει δ' εν τινι ερημῳ τοπῳ εδιψησαν, υδεπω της θεραπειας ἡκυσης, εκηρυχθη τῳ ςραλοπεδῳ, ει τις εχει ὑδωρ εκ τυ Χοασπυ, ἱνα δω βασιλει πιειν. Και εὑρεθη τις βραχυ και ζεσηπον εχων. Επιεν ουν τυτο ὁ Ξερξης, και ευεργετην τον δουλα ενομισεν, ὁτι αν απωλετο τῃ διψῃ, ει μη εκεινο εὑρεθη. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation; there was also the water of* Choaspes. *The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages not being yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of* Choaspes, *he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found.* Var. Hist. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Atheneus: Αγαθοκλης εν Περσαις φησιν ειναι και χρυσην καλουμενον ὑδωρ· ειναι δε τυτο λιβαδας εβδομηκοντα, και μηδενα πινειν απ' αυτυ η μονον βασιλεα και τον πρεσβυταλον αυτυ των παιδων· των δε αλλων εαν τις πιῃ, θανατῳ· ἡ ζημια. *Agathocles says that there is in Persia a water called* golden; *that it is seventy streams, that none drinks of it except the king and his eldest son, and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.* It does not however appear, that the *golden water* and *Choaspes* were the same. Eustathius, having transcribed this passage from Agathocles, adds:——Ζητητεον δε ει και το Χοασπειον ὑδωρ, ὑπερ επινε ςραλευομενος ὁ Περσων βασιλευς, τοιαυτην επιτιμιον κηρα εφειλκετο.—*Quære, whether the water of* Choaspes, *which the Persian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the same penalty.* Eustathius in Homer. Iliad. Υ, p. 1301. Ed. Basil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none besides the king might drink of that water of *Choaspes*, which was boiled and barreled up for his use in his military expeditions. Solinus indeed, who is a frivolous writer, says "*Choaspes* ita dulcis est, ut Persici reges quamdiu "intra ripas Persidis fluit solis sibi ex eo pocula "vindicarint." Milton therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify him. *Jortin.*

All Dr. Jortin's proofs, with many more, as Mr. Warton observes, (Note on COMUS,) V. 912, are to be found in Brissonius, DE PRINCIPAT. PERS. L. 1.

Eustathius, in his Commentary on Dionysius, PERIEGES. 1073., says the King of Persia drank no other water but that of the river Choaspes. το ὑδωρ Χοασπειον βασιλικον ην, εξ αυτυ γαρ μονυ επινεν ὁ των

The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

ὁ των Περσων βασιλευς. Herodotus also positively asserts the same. τω μεντοι πιπτει βασιλευς, και αλλω ὑδατος ποταμου. L. 1. p. 89. Edit. Wesseling; where it should be observed that a various reading of μυνος for μεντοι is exhibited, but condemned as *sine causâ*.

289. ——————— *of later fame,*
Built by Emathian, or by Parthian hands,
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,]

Cities of later date, *built by Emathian hands*, that is, Macedonian; by the successors of Alexander in Asia. *The great Seleucia*, built near the river Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called *great* to distinguish it from others of the same name; *Nisibis*, another city upon the Tigris, called also Antiocha, *Antiochia quam Nisibin vocant*. Plin. vi. 16. *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, seated upon the river Araxes, *juxta Araxem Artaxate*. Plin. vi. 10. *Teredon*, a city near the Persian bay, below the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, *Teredon infra confluentem Euphratis et Tigris*. Plin. vi. 28. *Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, the winter residence of the Parthian kings, Strabo. L. xvi. p. 743. *Newton.*

292. *Artaxata*—]

Strabo, L. xi. p. 528. says that Artaxata was built by Hannibal, for Artaxas; who, after being general to Antiochus the Great, became king of Armenia.

294. *All these the Parthian, (now some ages past*
By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.]

All these cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their usual place of residence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Arsaces*, who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the Paradise Lost, xi. 385——411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other: in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past. *Newton.*

The immediate object of this Temptation was to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by shewing him *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, that is, the splendor of the great empires that had been, or still were in existence. These are shewed by means of their principal cities, the extent and magnificence of which may be supposed to mark the great power and riches of the princes, that built or inhabited them:

Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem
The SEATS OF MIGHTIEST MONARCHS;——

Thus, having traced the extensive bounds of the *ancient Assyrian Empire*, he exemplifies its splendor and importance in the description which he gives of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, the two principal seats of its government. He next touches on the *Persian* and *Median* Empires, in noticing *Persepolis* and *Ecbatana*; and thence by directing the attention to *Hecatompylos*, &c. makes a transition to the *Parthian* Empire, at that time the rival and formidable antagonist of the Roman power.——Whatever anachronism therefore there may be in this place, it is surely

By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king

surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as Bp. Newton insinuates.

295. —— *great Arsaces*—]

Justin describes Arsaces "vir, sicut incertæ "originis, ita virtutis expertæ," L. xli. C. 4.; and, speaking of his death, he says; "Sic Arsaces, "quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus "memorabilis Parthis, quam Persis Cyrus, Mace-"donibus Alexander, Romanio Romulus, maturâ "senectute decedit. Cujus memoriæ hunc honorem "Parthi tribuerunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos "*Arsacis* nomine nuncupent." C. 5.

297. —— *the luxurious kings of Antioch*—]

No particular luxury seems laid by history to the charge of Antiochus Theus, though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited the resentment of Arsaces, and was the cause of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian Empire. See Prideaux. *Part* ii. *Book* 2. The contest with Arsaces was afterwards carried on by Seleucus, the son of Antiochus; against whom also no imputation of any luxurious excesses seem to be recorded. The next king of Syria who made any attempts to recover Parthia was Antiochus the Great, so named for his valour, prudence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he maintained unimpeached till he was above fifty years old; when he married a young woman, and totally changing his character, passed his whole time, as Livy describes him, L. 36, *omissâ omnium rerum curâ, in conviviis et vinum sequentibus voluptatibus, ac deinde, ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum, in somno.* Before this he had however ceded Parthia and Hyrcania to Arsaces, son of the Arsaces who first headed the revolt, on condition of his becoming his confederate, and assisting him to recover the other provinces. But Milton had probably here in his mind the descriptions given in history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes; whose abandoned conduct and dissipation was such, that instead of *Epiphanes*, or the Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was generally known by that of *Epimanes*, or the Madman. See *Polyb. apud Athenæum.* L. v.

298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*
Of his great power; &c.—]

Milton, considering very probably that a geographic description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out to their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadors making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our Author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. *Thyer.*

299. —— *for now the Parthian king*
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host, &c.]

Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger, and more calculated for considerable military

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste; see, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,

tary preparations, and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniences of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them. Ταυτην δ' εποιουντο χειμαδιον οι των Παρθυαιων βασιλεις, φειδομενοι των Σελευκειων, ινα μη καταπαθμευοιντο ὑπο των Σκυθικων φυλων και στρατιωτικων· δυναμει ὧν Παρθικη πολις αντι κωμης επι και το μεγεθος τοσουτον γε πληθος δεχομενη, και την κατασκευην ὑπ' εκεινων αυτων κατασκευασμενη, και τα ωνια, και τας τεχνας προσφορως εκεινοις πεπορισμενη. Strabo. L. xvi. p. 743. The passage is cited by Bp. Newton, apparently under a misapprehension of its true sense; as he infers from it that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon their winter residence, for the purpose of preventing the incursions of the Scythians. But by Σκυθικων φυλων, we must understand soldiers from their provinces bordering on Scythia. The mountainous Iberians, who make a part of the Parthian army in this place, V. 318. are particularly described by Strabo as resembling the Scythians in their manner of living, Σκυθων δικην ζωντες. L. xi.

302. ——————— *to her aid*
He marches now in haste;—]

In the CHARON, or ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ of Lucian, Mercury in a similar manner shews, and describes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against Crœsus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having related his former conquests, he says, και ΝΥΝ ελασειοντι επι Λυδιαν εοικεν, ὡς καθελων τον Κροισον αρχοι απαντων. C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not without its resemblance, in other respects, to this part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify Charon in a short time with a full view of what is passing in the world, tells him that he must devise a "specular mount" on purpose, την ικανην ΣΚΟΠΙΗΝ. This he does by piling Pelion on Ossa, and Oeta and Parnassus on these. He thence shews his friend an "outstretch'd prospect" of land and water, γην πολλην, * * * * και ορη, και ποταμους. Charon afterwards desires to see Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous cities of antiquity. The first of these Mercury tells him has been so completely destroyed, that no traces of it remain: the second he shews him, and, it may be remarked, describes it ευπυργος, and τον μεγαν περιβολον (εχουσα,) which is very similar to our Poet's

HUGE cities and HIGH-TOWER'D,—
Ver. 261. *supra.*

I take this opportunity of observing that Milton in the ELEVENTH Book of his PARADISE LOST, where Michael describes, and afterwards shews to Adam, Ver. 417, "the many shapes and ways of "Death," seems more immediately to have had in his mind a part of this Dialogue; where Mercury having noticed to his companion, "Conqueror "Death," (ὁ βελτιστος θανατος,) putting a sudden stop to the ardent hopes and vain schemes of man, proceeds to point out and describe the satellites or ministers of this great power, in the many and various modes of death. He specifies first "diseases "dire;"—Αγγελοι δε αυτου και ὑπηρεται μαλα πολλοι, ὡς ορᾶς, ηπιαλοι, και πυρετοι, και φθοαι, και περιπνευμονιαι; to which he humorously adds, suicide, robbers, public executions, and tyrants, ξιφη, και ληστηρια, και καυσεις, και δικαι, και τυραννοι. C. 17.

305. ——————— *steel bows and shafts their arms,*]

Catullus terms the Parthians *sagittiferi;*

Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.
He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless
The city gates out-pour'd, light armed troops,

Sive in Hyrcanos, Arabasque molles,
Seu Sacas, SAGITTIFEROSQUE PARTHOS,——
EP. xi.

And Dionysius distinguishes them *as warlike and armed with bows*,

—— αρῆιοι, ἀγκυλοτοξοι,
PERIEGES. 1040.

306. *Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;*
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;]

Lucan notices the skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers, while they fled from them;

—— missâ Parthi post terga sagittâ:
i. 229.

Ovid refers to the same circumstance, DE ART. AMAND. i. 209.

Tergaque Parthorum, Romanaque pectora dicam;
Telaque, ab averso quæ jacit hostis equo.
Qui fugis ut vincas? quid victo, Parthe, relinques?

And Virgil speaks of

FIDENTEMQUE FUGA Parthum,——
GEORG. iii. 39.

Dionysius describes the Parthians habituated from their infancy to archery and horsemanship;

———— εκ δε γενεθλης
Νηπιαχοι τοξοισι και ιπποσυνησι μενονται.

———— but from their birth,
In tend'rest infancy, are ceaseless train'd
To archery and horsemanship.
1044.

309. *In rhombs, and wedges, and half moons, and wings,*]

The *Rhomb* or ῥομβοειδης φαλαγξ was a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides.—The εμβολον, or *cuneus*, was the rhomb divided in the middle, having three sides, representing a wedge, or the Greek letter Δ. It is described by Vegetius, "Multitudo peditum quæ juncta cum acie primo angustior, dein latior procedit, et adversariorum ordines rumpit, quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur." L. iii. 29. An instance of the good effect of this form of drawing up soldiers, to push their way through a surrounding enemy, is mentioned by Cæsar. BELL. GALL. L. 6. *Ad finem.*——The *cuneus* is mentioned by Virgil;

—— densi CUNEIS se quisque coactis
Agglomerant;——
ÆN. xii. 470.

And by Statius, THEBAID, x. 740;

Cornua nunc equitum, CUNEOS nunc ille pedestres.

The *half moon* was the επικαμπης φαλαγξ. It was in the form of a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body presented to the enemy; it was also called κυρτη or κοιλη, being convex and hollow. Statius seems to have alluded to this form, THEB. v. 145;

LUNATUMQUE putes agmen descendere,——

And Silius Italicus has LUNATIS FLEXIBUS. iv. 319.

Frontinus says that Scipio Africanus overcame Asdrubal by drawing up his army after this manner, "LUNATA ACIE congressus facile fudit." STRATAG. L. ii. C. 3. 4. The *wings* are the κερατα of the Greeks, and the *alæ* or *cornua* of the Latins.

310. *He look'd, and saw &c.*—]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, xi. 638.

HE LOOK'D, AND SAW wide territory spread, &c. &c.

310. ———— *what numbers numberless*

A manner of expression very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Æschylus, PROMETH. 904.

In coats of mail and military pride;
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound; 315
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,

Απολεμος ὁδε γ' ὁ πολεμος, απορα
Ποριμος———

And PERSÆ, 682.

ναες αναες αναες,——πολις, απολις.
Thyer.

Thus Lucretius, iii. 799. & x. 1053.

INNUMERO NUMERO,——

Our Author also, in his PARADISE LOST, has a similar expression:

The multitude of Angels with a shout,
Loud as from NUMBERS WITHOUT NUMBER,——
iii. 345.

311. *The city gates out-pour'd,—*]

This is Virgil's

—— ingentem FORIBUS DOMUS ALTA SUPERBIS
Mane salutantum totis VOMIT ædibus UNDAM.
GEORG. ii. 461.

311. —————— *light arm'd troops*]

Prima LEVES ineunt si quando prælia Parthi.
Virg. GEORG. iv. 314.

312. *In coats of mail and military pride;*
In mail their horses clad, &c.—]

Plutarch, in his account of the defeat of Crassus, says, that the Parthians, on a sudden throwing off the covering of their armour, seemed all on fire from the glittering brightness of their helmets and breast-plates, which were made of *Margian* steel, and from the brass and iron trappings of their horses.—— Εξαιφνης τα προκαλυμματα τῶν ὁπλων καταβαλοντες, ωφθησαν αυτοι γε φλογοειδεις, κρανεσι και θωραξι, τε Μαργιανε σιδηρε, στιλβοντες οξυ και περιλαμπες· οι δ' ἱπποι καταπεφραγμενοι, χαλκοῖς και σιδηροις σκεπασμασι.——And Justin, speaking of the Parthians, describes them and their horses completely armed, "Munimenta ipsis equisque Loricæ plumatæ sunt; "quæ utrumque toto corpore tegunt." L. xli. C. 2.

We may compare with our Author's description in this place a passage of Claudian.

Hic ultrix acies ORNATU FULGIDA MARTIS
Explicuit cuneos. Pedites in parte sinistra
Consistunt; EQUITES ILLINC POSCENTIA CURSUM
ORA RELUCTANTUR PRESSIS SEDARE LUPATIS.
Hinc alii sævum cristato vertice nutant,
Et tremulos humeris gaudent vibrare colores,
Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem
Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,
Horribilis visu. CREDAS SIMULACRA MOVERI
FERREA, COGNATOQUE VIROS SPIRARE METALLO.
PAR VESTITUS EQUIS; FERRATA FRONTE MINANTUR,
FERRATOSQUE LEVANT SECURI VULNERIS ARMOS.
IN RUFIN. ii. 351.

315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound;—*]

He had before mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their provinces. *Newton.*

316. —— *Arachosia,—*]

This was one of the largest provinces of the Parthian Empire, and, as Bp. Newton observes, is described by Strabo extending to the river Indus, μεχρι τε Ινδε πολαμε τεταμενη. L. xi. p. 516.

316. —————— *Candaor—*]

In the Edition of 1680 it is written *Gandaor*. Pliny, describing this country, speaks of the *Gandari*, L. vi. 16. where Father Harduin would read *Candari*, and says, (as Bp. Newton observes,) that they are different from the *Gandari*. Pomponius Mela notices the same people, L. i. C. 2. where the commentators are divided between the readings of Candari or Gandari. Vossius, in a note on the place, clearly shews they were a different people from the Indian Gandari, and that they were the *Candari* of Ptolemy, and the people meant by Pliny,

And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd,
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face

Pliny, in the passage already referred to.—These provinces lay eastward. Candahar, or Kandahar, is the modern name of Arachosia,

317. —— *Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs*
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales,]

Margiana and Hyrcania lay northward of Arachosia towards the Caspian Sea. Margiana is mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. 16.——The Hyrcanian "cliffs of Caucasus" and "the Iberian dales" are joined together by Strabo, who says, that the highest part of the Caucasus bordered on Albania, Iberia, and Colchis.—τα μεν ουν υψηλοτατα τε ορους Καυκασε τα νοτιωτατα εστι, τα προς Αλβανια και Ιβηρια και Κολχοις. L. xi. p. 506.——The Iberian dales are termed dark, as the country abounded in forests. Tacitus describes the Iberians "saltuosos locos "incolentes." ANNAL. vi. 34.

319. *From Atropatia and the neighb'ring plains*
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.]

This description of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachosia east; then advances northward to Margiana; and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern division of Media. Here it turns again southward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the western part of Babylonia, which, as Bp. Newton observes, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745,) describes as a *plain country*, της μεν ουν Αδιαβηνης η πλειστη πεδιας εστι; then, passing through part of Media, it concludes with Susiana, which extended southward to the Persian Gulph, called *Balsara's haven*, from the Port of Balsera, Bassorah, or Bussorah.

324. *Sharp sleet of arrowy showers*—]

Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

—— fundunt simul undique tela
Crebra NIVIS RITU——
ÆN. ii. 610.

To which we may add another similar passage, ÆN. xii. 284.

—— it toto turbida cœlo
TEMPESTAS TELORUM, ac FERREUS ingruit IMBER.

Pindar, in his FIFTH Isthmian Ode, has

αναριθμων ανδων ΧΑΛΑΖΑΕΝΤΙ φονῳ,
—— cœde GRANDINEÂ—

And Nonnus, L. xxii.

—— ομβρος οιστων.

Thus also Statius, THEBAID. viii. 407.

—— non tanta cadentibus hædis
Aerian Rhodopen SOLIDA NIVE verberat Arctos,
Nec fragor Ausoniæ tantus, cum Jupiter omni
Arce tonat, tanta quatitur nec grandine Syrtis,
Cum Libyæ Boreas Italos niger attulit imbres.
Exclusere diem telis, STANT FERREA CŒLO
NUBILA, nec jaculis arctatus sufficit aer.

The "arrowy hail," or "arrowy shower" was a figure of speech not uncommon with the Roman prose writers as well as poets. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, "RITU GRANDINIS undique con-

Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
Chariots, or elephants indors'd with towers

" volantibus telis." L. xiv. C. 10. P. 49. Ed. Gronov. Fol.

Spenser has SHOWER and HAIL *of arrows;* FAERY QUEEN, B. v. C. iv. 38.

But in the middle way they were ymet
With a SHARP SHOWRE OF ARROWS, which them staid,
And better bad advise, ere they assay'd
Unknowen peril of bold women's pride.
Then all the rout upon them rudely layd,
And heaped strokes so fast on every side,
And ARROWS HAIL'D SO THICK, that they could not abide.

326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:*]

Mr. Thyer notices the particular beauty and expressiveness of this line.—Bp. Newton observes that it greatly exceeds Fairfax's

Imbatteled in walls of IRON BROWN;
TASSO. C. i. St. 64.

and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which I rather conceive Milton to have had in his mind in this place.

——— tum late FERREUS hastis
Horret AGER, CAMPIQUE ARMIS SUBLIMIBUS ARDENT.
ÆN. xi. 601.

327. ——— *clouds of foot,*—]

So we have in Homer, IL. iv. 374. Νιφες πεζων; and in Virgil, Æn. vii. 793. *nimbus peditum.*—But, as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, V. 307.

ALL HORSEMEN, in which fight they most excell;

nor with what follows to the same purpose, V. 344.

Such, and so numerous, was their CHIVALRY;——
Newton.

By *horsemen* Milton meant only skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was; and by no means that they never engaged except on horseback.——We may collect from Tacitus, ANNAL. vi. 34. that the Iberians who make a part of this army were foot soldiers. Strabo also notices the best soldiers of Iberia as coming from the mountainous part of that country, while the inhabitants of the plains were habituated to agriculture and peaceful occupations, το μεν ουν πεδιον των Ιβηρων οι γεωργικωτατοι και προς ειρηνην εν ευκολια οικουσιν —— —— την δ' ορεινην οι πλειως και μαχιμοι κατεχουσι. L. xi. p. 500.—The inhabitants of a mountainous country, it is obvious, were more likely to be foot soldiers. Milton had probably this passage of Strabo in his mind, when he specified " the dark Iberian " dales."

328. *Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,*]

Sallust, *Fragment.* L. iv. speaks of " Equites " Cataphracti FERREA OMNI SPECIE."—Similar to the Cataphracts of the Romans were the καταφρακται of the Persians; whom the Author of the *Glossarium Nomicum* describes, ὁλοσιδηροι, *all in steel.* Livy mentions forces of this kind entitled LORICATI. xxxv. 48. & xxxvii. 40.—Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of Persian foot-soldiers, who were " in speciem Mirmillonum CONTECTI." xxiii. 6.

329. ——— *elephants indors'd with towers,*]

Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of elephants in the Persian army. L. 24.—Pliny mentions them bearing towers with sixty soldiers on them, " turriti cum sexagenis propugnatoribus." viii. 7.

Silius Italicus, speaking of elephants bearing towers, terms them TURRITÆ MOLES, and adds

——— propugnacula dorso
Bellua nigranti gestans, ceu mobilis agger,
Nutat, et erectos attollit ad æthera muros.
ix. 239.

Of

Of archers; nor of laboring pioneers
A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons, fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,

330. ——— *of laboring pioneers*
A multitude with spades and axes arm'd]

Thus in the PARADISE LOST, i. 675.

——— bands
Of pioneers, with spade and pick-axe arm'd,——
Newton.

333. ——— *or overlay*
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;]

Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont. PERSÆ, 71.

Πολυγομφον ὀδισμα
Ζυγον αμφιβαλων αυχενι ποντῳ.
Thyer.

The river Araxes is termed by Virgil, ÆN. viii. 728.

——— pontem indignatus Araxes,

from its carrying away, by a violent inundation, a bridge which Alexander had just built over it.

337. *Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,*
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieg'd Albracca, &c.—]

What Milton here alludes to is related in Boiardo's Orlando Inamorato, L. i. Cant. 10. The number of forces said to be there assembled is incredible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand;

Ventidua centinaia di migliara
Di caualier hauea quel Rè nel campo,
Cosa non mai udita ——

and Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blameable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican, &c. is by far too much disproportioned to any army, which the Parthian king by an historical evidence could be supposed to bring into the field.
Thyer.

337. *Such forces met not, &c.*—]

Thus our Author, PARADISE LOST, i. 573.

——— for never, since created man,
MET SUCH IMBODIED FORCE.

And Lucan, having described at large the nations which took part with Pompey, thus speaks of the whole amount of the forces assembled under his command.

Non, cum Memnoniis deducens agmina regnis
Cyrus, et effusis numerato milite telis
Descendit Perses, fraternique ultor amoris
Æquora cum tantis percussit classibus, unum
Tot reges habuere ducem; COIERE NEC UNQUAM
Tam variæ cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi
Ora.
PHARSAL. iii. 284.

When

When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieg'd Albracca, (as romances tell,)
The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win
The fairest of her sex Angelica,
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry:
At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd,
And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

THAT thou may'st know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear, and mark
To what end I have brought thee hither, and shown
All this fair sight: thy kingdom, though foretold
By prophet or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,

341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica,*]

This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance, he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. *prowest* and *Paynim*. *Thyer.*

342. ——— *prowest knights,*]

For yonder comes THE PROWEST KNIGHT alive,
Prince Arthur flowre of grace and nobilesse;
Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. viii. 18.

Prowest is the superlative of *prow*, from the old French *preux*, valiant. *Preux chevalier* is the old term for the Heroes of Romance. The French writers of chivalry, speak of the "nine worthies" under the title of *les neuf preux*.

343. *Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.*
Such and so numerous was their chivalry:]

Milton, as Mr. Thyer observes, is still fond of the fables of Romance, and in referring to them retains its language. Thus in a simile in his PARADISE LOST, i. 763, he describes

——— a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
Defy'd the best of PAYNIM CHIVALRY,———

And in the same Book, Ver. 585, he speaks of the Saracen knights

——— whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,
When CHARLEMAIN, WITH ALL HIS PEERAGE, fell
By Fontarabbia.

Thou

Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still
In all things, and all men, supposes means,
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
But, say thou wert possess'd of David's throne,
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how could'st thou hope
Long to enjoy it, quiet and secure,
Between two such inclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of these
Thou must make sure thy own; the Parthian first
By my advice, as nearer, and of late
Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
Maugre the Roman. It shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose,
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league:

366. ——— *and captive lead away her kings,*
Antigonus, and old Hyrcanus, bound,]

Here seems to be a slip of memory in our Author. The Parthians indeed led *Hyrcanus* away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past seventy years of age, so that he might well be called *old Hyrcanus*; but instead of leading away *Antigonus* captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See Josephus Antiq. Lib. 14. Cap. 13. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardoned among so many excellences. *Newton.*

Bp. Newton's observation on the mistake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate; as he himself, with his eyes open, seems to have fallen into a considerable mistake in this note, by describing Hyrcanus as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the case. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (*See* Joseph. ANTIQ. JUD. xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in person, of filling the office of High Priest; but, (L. xv. C. 6. Sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befel Hyrcanus are particularly recited,) nothing is said of his eyes being put out.

By

By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly reinstall thee
In David's royal seat, his true successor,
Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd:
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear.

374. ——————— *those ten tribes*
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd;]

These were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser king of Assyria, carried captive into Assyria, *and put them in Halab and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.* 2 Kings, xviii. 11. which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians. *Newton.*

377. *Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph*—]

The ten captive tribes of the Israelites were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Napthali, Ephraim and Manasses. Only eight of these were sons of Jacob; the two others were the sons of Joseph. I would suppose therefore that the Poet meant to give it,

Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost.

Otherwise he must have included in the *ten* sons of Jacob both Levi and Joseph. The Levites it is true did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems however quite incorrect to refer to Joseph, as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons Ephraim and Manasses.

384. *From Egypt to Euphrates*—]

That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates:* and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, 1 Kings, iv. 21. *And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river*

To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm
And fragil arms, much instrument of war,
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else
Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne:
My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee
Were better farthest off,) is not yet come:
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack

(Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt. *Newton.*

387. *Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,*]

"Fleshly arm" is scriptural. *With him is an* ARM OF FLESH, *but with us is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles.* 2 Chron. xxxii. 8. *Thus saith the Lord, Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and* MAKETH FLESH HIS ARM, *and whose heart departeth from the Lord.* Jer. xvii. 5.

Spenser has,

What man is he that boasts of FLESHLY MIGHT?
FAERY QUEEN, B. I. C. 10. 1.

388. ——— *much instrument of war*
Long in preparing—]

Totius belli INSTRUMENTO ET APPARATU—Ciceron. ADADEMIC. ii. 1.

394. ——— *prediction else*
Will unpredict—]

This refers to what the Tempter had said before, Ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the argument, that the requisite reliance on divine providence does not by any means countenance a supine negligence, and a dereliction of all personal exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner of speaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the speaker, but it strikes me as censurable not so much for the lightness, as for the quaintness, of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our Author was certainly too fond. To *unpredict* is something like to *uncreate*. See PARADISE LOST, v. 895. & ix. 943.

Rowe, in his admirable version of Lucan, has, it may be observed, used the verb *to undecree*; but that in a manner so happily bold, as I conceive goes nearer to vindicate the word;

Ultimus esse dies potuit tibi Roma malorum;
Exire e mediis potuit Pharsalia fatis.
vi. 312.

Rome had not worn a tyrant's hated chain,
And Fate had UNDECREED Pharsalia's plain.

396. *My time* ——— ——— ———
——— ——— ——— *is not yet come:*]

My time is not yet come. John, vii. 6. *Newton.*

On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me, argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons.
But whence to thee this zeal? Where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride
Of numbering Israel, which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days pestilence? Such was thy zeal
To Israel then; the same that now to me.
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they

400. ——————— *that cumbersome*
Luggage of war—]

The Romans called their military baggage, and whatever related to it, *impedimenta*.

401. ——————— *argument*
Of human weakness rather than of strength.]

It is a proof of human weakness, as it shews that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsical to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's Ode on this thought. *Thyer.*

409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter, &c.*]

Alluding to 1 Chron. xxi. 1. *And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel.* Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word *Satan*, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil: and he expresses it very properly by *the pride of numbering Israel*; for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offence to consist in pride and vanity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence; of which he chose the latter. *So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men*, ver. 14. *Newton.*

414. *As for those captive tribes, &c.*]

The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. *They fell off from God to worship calves*, the golden calves

Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
And all the idolatries of Heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
The God of their forefathers; but so dy'd
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
And God with idols in their worship join'd.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,

calves which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*; for it is probable, (as some learned men have conjectured,) that Jeroboam, having conversed with the Egyptians, set up these two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Ashtaroth.* Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, 1 Kings, xvi. 32. and at the same time probably was introduced the worship of *Ashtaroth, the Goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings, xi. 5. For Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was *the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings, xvi. 31. And by *the prophets of the groves* (1 Kings, xviii. 19.) Mr. Selden understands the prophets of *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte:* and *the groves under every green tree*, 2 Kings, xvii. 10. should be translated *Ashtaroth under every green tree.* See Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. ii. cap. 2. But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing impenitent in their captivity, see 2 Kings, xvii. and the prophets in several places. *Newton.*

428. *Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,*
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan?—]

There is some difficulty and obscurity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Sympson would read *Headlong would fall off, and &c.* or *Headlong would fall, &c.* But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he? There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve
Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
Yet he at length, (time to himself best known,)
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back, repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,

suspects by some accident a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve at least for a commentary to explain the sense, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation.

Their fathers in their old iniquities
Headlong would follow, &c ——

Or is not the construction thus, *Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their Gods perhaps, &c.?* *Newton.*

There is somewhat of obscurity here, it must be allowed; but I conceive our Author to have many passages that are more implicate. The sense seems to be this; "Who, if they were freed from that "captivity, which was inflicted on them as a "punishment for their disobedience, idolatry, and "other vices, would return to take possession of "their country, as something to which they were "justly entitled, and of which they had been long "unjustly deprived; without shewing the least "sense either of their former abandoned conduct, "or of God's goodness in pardoning and restoring "them. This change in their situation would "produce none whatever in their conduct, but they "would retain the same hardened hearts, and the "same wicked dispositions as before, and most "probably would betake themselves to their old "idolatries and other abominations."—The expression *headlong would follow* seems allusive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better pasture; and *headlong* might be particularly suggested by Sallust's description of irrational animals, "*pecora, quæ natura* PRONA, "*atque* VENTRI OBEDIENTIA *finxit.*"—If a correction of the text be thought necessary, I should prefer,

Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would *fall unto* their Gods, perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan————

in recommendation of which it may be observed that *fall to idols* is Miltonic; as it is said of Solomon, PARADISE LOST, i. 444, that his heart

Beguil'd by fair idolatresses FELL
To idols foul.

429. *Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,*]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, ii. 185;

Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd.

And Shakespeare, HAMLET, Act I. Sc. 5.

Unhousel'd, unappointed, unaneal'd,——

436. *And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.*]

There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *the Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to, Rev. xvi. 12. *And the sixth Angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared:* and to Isa. xi. 15, 16.

And

While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the promis'd land their fathers pass'd;
To his due time and providence I leave them.
So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it, when with truth falshood contends *.

And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod: And there shall be an highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt. Newton.

438. —— *the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,*]

Thus in our Author's Version of Psalm cxxxvi. done at the age of fifteen;

The ruddy wave he CLEFT in twain,
Of the Erythrean main.

And Psalm lxxiv. 15. *Translation in the Bible.* "*Thou didst* CLEAVE *the fountain and the flood.*"

441. —————— *and to the fiend*
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.]

We may compare the following passage of Vida, where Satan in his Speech to the Devils in Pandæmonium, relates how he had been foiled in the Temptation of our blessed Lord.

Iste autem, quamvis mortalia membra caducus
Induerit, tamen est nostris imperditus armis.
Nempe ego sæpe adii, coramque interritus urgens
Tentavi insidiis nequicquam * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Quas non in facies, quæ non mutatus in ora
Accessi incassum! Semper me reppulit ipse
Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus;
Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,
IRRITA TENTAMENTA, DOLOS, ET VIM EXUIT OMNEM.

CHRISTIAD. i. 193.

* Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly Divine Poem, the most distinguishable and captivating feature of excellence is the character of Christ. This is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor Phidias,——"cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeo MAJESTAS OPERIS "DEUM ÆQUAVIT." L. xii. C. 10. It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that, "as in the PARADISE LOST "the Poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wish in "the PARADISE REGAINED to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists." *Life of Milton*, p. 125.—The great object of this second poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical Virtue, in the person and sentiments of our blessed Lord. From the beginning of this THIRD Book to Ver. 363 of the next, practical Christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendor, civilization and knowledge; the several claims of which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetic decoration.——After an *exordium* of flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progressive display of Heathen excellence with an Eulogy on Glory (Ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be questioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of Heroism; the judgment of the Author may also be noticed (Ver. 31, &c.) in the selection of his heroes, two of whom,

whom, Alexander and Scipio, he had before introduced (B. ii. 196. 199.) as examples of continency and self-denial:—— in short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord's reply, the *false* glory of worldly fame (Ver. 47.) is stated with energetic briefness, and is opposed (Ver. 60.) by the *true* glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next (Ver. 74.) most forcibly depicted; and are finely contrasted (Ver. 88.) with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

> But, if there be in glory aught of good,
> It may by means far different be obtain'd,
> Without ambition, war, or violence;
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance.———

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil's description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country;

> Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
> Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
> Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti,
> Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo;
> Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora vittâ.
>
> ÆN. vi. 660.

In the conclusion of the Speech (Ver. 96.) an heroical character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity;——one who, though a Heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine providence and his resignation thereto, that he seems to have imbibed his sentiments from a source "above the famed Castalian "Spring;" and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, Christian-like virtues, his language often approaches, nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen.—"Ει ταυτη Θεῳ φιλον," says he, "ταυτη γενεσθω." Epictet. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒ. L. i. C. 29.———The artful sophistry of the Tempter's further defence of glory (Ver. 109.), and our Lord's majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given (Ver. 121.) of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both admirable.——The rest of the Dialogue is well supported; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan (Ver. 204.) offers a vindicatory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though "ruined," the Satan of Milton seldom "appears less than an Arch-angel,") is happily combined with the insinuating art and "sleeked tongue" of this grand Deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character: the transition that follows (Ver. 223.) to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—The Poet now quits mere Dialogue for that "union of the narrative and dramatic "powers," which Dr. Johnson, speaking of this poem, observes "must ever be more pleasing than "a dialogue without action."—The description (Ver. 251.) of the "specular mount," where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the Poet had in his mind. The geographical scene (from Ver. 268 to 292.) is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Bp. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms

kingdoms of the world from "the mount of vision," in the ELEVENTH Book of the PARADISE LOST. The military expedition of the Parthians (from Ver. 300. to 336.) is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly *unique* in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, antient or modern, to go for any thing materially resembling it. The FIFTEENTH Book of Tasso's JERUSALEM, &c. (where the two Christian Knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shewn a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military scene.——The speech of Satan, (Ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he shewed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the Temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power, that he might gain possession of David's throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotic feelings which he had expressed in the FIRST Book of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, *more than human*, was marked with a wish

> To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke.
>
> 217.

Our Lord's reply (Ver. 386.) is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;——by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendor of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE REGAINED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

Satan, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shews him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendor, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman Empire, but by so doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct, and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms, on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damned." Satan abashed attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly-finished panegyrick on the Grecian musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by shewing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted Heathen philosophy; and prefers to the music, poetry, eloquence, and didactic policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers; and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on: Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrific threatening spectres; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his "fatal Enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric

1. *Perplex'd*—]

The strong sense in which Milton almost always uses this word may induce us to suppose that in his own mind he derived it of the Greek πλησσω, πληγεις, πεπληγμενος, *percutio*, *vexo*, *perterreo*, or from its compound παραπληττω, from whence παραπληξ *mente perculsus*, *attonitus*, and παραπεπληγμενος *furibundus*. *Perplexed* and *perplexity* are used in this strong sense in our version both of the Old and New Testament. *See* Isaiah, xxii. 5. Esther, iii. 15. Micah, vii. 4. Luke, ix. 7. and xxi. 25.

4. ——— *the persuasive rhetoric*
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve,]

The progressively "persuasive rhetoric" of the Serpent, in his temptation of Eve, is most exquisitely described in the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST.——The previous art, with which he endeavours to attract her attention, is beautifully represented:

——— oft he bow'd
His turret crest and sleek enamel'd neck,
Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
His gentle dumb expression turn'd at length
The eye of Eve to mark his play; he, glad
Of her attention gain'd, with serpent tongue
Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.

His language is at first that of general, and rather palpable, flattery, professing admiration of her beauty and merit; but this is cloathed in terms so irresistibly captivating, that we are not surprised when we find that

Into the heart of Eve his words made way.

On her wondering to find him gifted with speech, he proceeds to relate the manner of his acquiring both reason and speech, and the general elevation of his mental faculties, from eating a particular fruit of the garden of Eden; and he winds up his narration of this circumstance in a more artful and highly-finished compliment to Eve, than any in his first address to her.

Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Consider'd all things visible in Heaven,
Or earth, or middle, all things fair and good;
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,
United I beheld; no fair to thine
Equivalent or second, which compell'd

Me

That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve,
So little here, nay lost; but Eve was Eve,
This far his over-match, who, self-deceiv'd
And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
But as a man, who had been matchless held

Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
Sovran of creatures, universal Dame.

Eve is not proof against all this. She becomes "yet more amazed," and "replies unwaringly;" *that is*, the flattery is so acceptable to her, that her prudence begins to give way, and she enquires, with apparent curiosity, respecting the tree on which the fruit grew. The Serpent proceeds, by a beautiful description of the situation of the tree, and the way that led to it, to increase her curiosity:

Empress, the way is ready, and not long,
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
Of blowing myrrh and balm; if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.
Lead then, said Eve.———

When they come to the tree, which she finds to be that of the forbidden fruit, her words rather mark her concern than any surprize or indignation:

Serpent we might have spar'd our coming hither, &c.

On her informing him that they were commanded by God not to taste or touch the fruit of that tree, he briefly insinuates his wonder at so singular a prohibition, in terms that have a sensible effect on Eve. When replying she is said to be "yet sinless;" which seems to imply that, though she had not yet actually incurred the breach of the commandment, she was but too much disposed to do so. This then is the moment for the Tempter to exert all his powers, by combining every artful seduction of the most accomplished "Rhetoric." External comeliness, graceful attitude, impressive action, and impassioned language, unite to give force to the plausibility of his tale, and the sophistry of his reasoning. Such indeed is the admirable art of the Poet in this place, that we are ourselves seduced by him, and are inclined to say, that if the Tempter had failed, "Eve would not have been Eve." But "Eve *was* Eve," and

——— his words replete with guile
Into her heart too easy entrance won.

I have been led to trespass on my reader's patience, by recalling to his recollection this very fine part of the Paradise Lost, from an idea that it was, with Milton himself, a particularly favorite part of his great poem. As such he seems here to have had it in his mind, while in introducing the Tempter in a less triumphant situation, he with great propriety refers to his former success, and to what he here terms

—— the PERSUASIVE RHETORIC
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve.

10. *But as a man, &c.*—]

It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes. Our Author here follows his example, and presents us with a *string* of similies together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired; but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here they rise one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject that it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. *Newton.*

Mr.

In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,

Mr. Thyer also observes that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of his two first comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity.

10. *But as a man, who had been matchless held, &c.*—]

" A poetical simile," says Dr. Johnson, " is " the discovery of likeness between two actions, " in their general nature dissimilar, or of causes " terminating by different operations in some re- " semblance of effect. But the mention of another " like consequence from a like cause, or of a like " performance by a like agency, is not a simile, but " an exemplification." This passage of the Paradise Regained is indeed, strictly speaking, no *simile;* it is only an *exemplification* of Satan's " vain importunity," in the frequent conduct of persons in real life, who, priding themselves on their superior cunning, if they happen to employ it against any one capable of seeing through their designs, and defeating their arts, become so irritated, that they lose not only their boasted cunning, but even common prudence, and, with the rash violence of desperation, press and pursue the attack to their accumulated detriment and disgrace.—— But the character of *the man of cunning irritated by defeat*, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps suppose the description in this place to have been *personal:* it might refer to his old literary, political, enemy, Salmasius, as the " man who had been matchless " held", and who, after being " foiled" in the controversy by our Author's DEFENSIO POPULI, endeavored " to salve his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which was published by his son: or it might relate to his later antagonist Alexander More, or Morus.

15. *Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,*
About the wine-press, where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;]

This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer.

Οι δ' αιει περι νεκρον ομιλεον, ως οτε μυιαι
Σταθμω ενι βρομεωσι περιγλαγεας κατα πελλας,
Ωρη εν εαρινη, οτε τε γλαγος αΐγεα δευει.
IL. xvi. 641.

Thick as beneath some shepherd's thatch'd abode,
(The pails high foaming with a milky flood,)
The buzzing flies, a persevering train,
Incessant swarm, and chas'd return again.
Pope.

Και οι μυιης θαρσος ενι στηθεσσιν ενηκεν,
Ητε, και ειργομενη μαλα περ χροος ανδρομεοιο,
Ισχαναα δακεειν, λαρον τε οι αιμ' ανθρωπου.
IL. xvii. 570.

So burns the vengeful hornet, (soul all o'er,)
Repuls'd in vain, and thirsty still of gore;
(Bold son of air and heat,) on angry wings,
Untam'd, untir'd, he turns, attacks, and stings.
Pope.

Where Mr. Pope has turned the *fly* of Homer into a *hornet*, and has added two more lines to the comparison, " to keep up" as he says, " the " dignity of his author."

Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the Flies in the SECOND Book of the ILIAD, 469.

Ηϋτε μυιαων αδινεων εθνεα πολλα,
Αιτε κατα σταθμον ποιμνηϊον πλαζεσσιν
Ωρη εν εαρινη, οτε τε γλαγος αΐγεα δευει.

——— thick as insects play,
The wandering nation of a summer's day,
That, drawn by milky streams, at evening hours,
In gather'd swarms surround the rural bowers;
Pope.

The language of this last simile is beautiful, but the image which it presents is of a kind that scarcely embellishes,

About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,

embellishes, and certainly does not dignify, the description. The other two comparisons of a band of warriors obstinately defending the dead body of their companion from the repeated attacks of the enemy, to a number of flies which it is scarcely possible to drive back from a milk pail,——and of a single hero acting the same resolute part, to a fly that will not quit a dead carcase,——are, it must be allowed, similies of the degrading kind, and unworthy of the subject they are intended to illustrate. But the application of the same simile by Milton in this place is so perfectly appropriate, that no such objection lies against it. It is justly observed by Dr. Blair, respecting similies, "that they are commonly intended to embellish and to dignify; and "therefore, unless in burlesque writing, or where "similies are introduced purposely to vilify and "diminish an object, mean ideas should never be "presented to us." This then is one of the Critic's exceptions, as it may be supposed the Poet's object here to diminish, by setting in its true light, the character of the Tempter, which in parts of this Poem he had found it convenient to invest with such a portion of dignity, that it was necessary at other times to counteract it by lowering descriptions and degrading comparisons. Besides, as the courage and force of a magnanimous hero may be illustrated by the comparison of a lion or a torrent, so may the low cunning and base arts of an insidious adversary be, with no less propriety, elucidated by a comparison of an insect or a reptile.

It may be observed that *musca* is used metaphorically, by the best Roman authors, to signify a pertinacious parasite, a person of the most impertinent curiosity, or of such impudence of any kind as can with difficulty be restrained or repressed. Thus Stephens, in his *Thesaurus*, interprets MUSCA by *homo molestus, importunus*. Lipsius, in a note on Plautus, MERCAT. Act II. Sc. iii. 26., remarks that a Fly was the Ægyptian symbol of impudence. "Ægyptios Orus tradit, cum *impudentiam* significare "vellent, muscam pinxisse, quod nimirum vix abacta "nihilominus continuo redeat."

17. ———— *with humming sound;*]

Thus Virgil in his Simile of the Bees, ÆN. vi. 707;

Floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
Lilia funduntur; STREPIT OMNIS MURMURE CAMPUS.

The humming of bees is described, in a verse of much effect, by Theocritus, IDYLL. i. 107.

Ὧδε καλον BOMBEYNTI ποτι σμανεσσι μελλισσαι;

who again speaks of "the humming bee," iii. 13.

Ἁ BOMBEYΣA μελισσα,——

18. *Or surging waves against a solid rock,*
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,
Vain battery, and in froth or bubbles end;]

There can be but one opinion respecting this simile. "It presents" says Mr. Thyer, "to the "reader's mind an image which not only fills and "satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly ex-"presses both the unmoved stedfastness of our "Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of "Satan."—We may trace a resemblance of it, where Vida describes the vain attempts of the Arch-Fiend, in the Temptation of our blessed Lord.

——— Haud destitit hostis
Congressu victus primo, pugnamque retentat,
Atque aliis super atque aliis assultibus instat,
Terque novos, semper cœpti irritus, integrat astus,
Nequicquam nunc regnorum, nunc laudis, inani
Immotum tentans animum pervertere amore.
Ut, cum sollicitum tollunt mare fluctibus Euri,
Crebra ferit, sævitque minaci murmure in alta
Littora, sed SAXIS ALLISA REVERTITUR UNDA.
CHRISTIAD. iv. 628.

We may also compare the following Stanza of Giles Fletcher's CHRIST'S TRIUMPH OVER DEATH.

So

Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues.
He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long but in breadth not wide,
Wash'd by the southern sea, and, on the north,
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills
That screen'd the fruits of the earth and seats of men
From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst

So have I seen a rock's heroic breast,
Against proud Neptune, that his ruin threats,
When all his waves he hath to battle prest,
And with a thousand swelling billows beats
The stubborn stone, and foams and chaffs and frets
To heave him from his root, unmoved stand;
And more in heaps the barking SURGES land,
The more IN PIECES BEAT fly weeping to the strand.

And we may trace all these later poets to Virgil, Æn. vii. 586.

Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit;
Ut pelagi rupes, magno veniente fragore,
Quæ sese, multis circum latrantibus undis,
Mole tenet; scopuli nequicquam et spumea circum
Saxa fremunt, laterique illisa refunditur alga.

18. —— *surging waves*—]

Thus Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. xii. 21.

Sudden they see, from midst of all the main,
The SURGING WATERS like a mountain rise,

And our Author in his PARADISE LOST, vii. 213.

Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds,
And SURGING WAVES,——

27. *Another plain, &c.*—]

The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midst by the river Tiber.

Newton.

The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines, which divide the south-west part of Italy from the north-west; and in which the river Tiber has its source. The *plain*, contained between these Hills and the Mediterranean sea, consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania; the two latter being divided from the former by the course of the Tiber.

31. —————— *thence in the midst*
Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,]

—— Romam:
APENNINIGENÆ QUÆ PROXIMA TIBRIDIS UNDIS
Mole sub ingenti rerum fundamina ponit.
Ovid. MET. xv. 431.

Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate*
On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes,]

Thus Spenser, in his RUINS OF TIME, where Verulam, comparing herself with Rome, describes "the beauty of her buildings fair;"

High TOWERS, fair TEMPLES, goodly THEATRES,
Strong walls, rich PORCHES, princely PALACES,
Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
Sure gates, sweet GARDENS, stately GALLERIES,
Wrought with fair pillars, and fine imageries.

35. *On seven small hills*—]

Thus Virgil, GEORGIC ii. 535, speaking of Rome,

SEPTEMQUE una sibi muro circumdedit ARCES.

Newton.

Horace terms the tutelary Gods of Rome,

Diis, quibus SEPTEM placuere COLLES.

CARM. SEC. 7.

Propertius describes Rome, El. iii. 10.

SEPTEM urbs alta JUGIS,———

And Statius, 4 SYLV. i. 6.

Et SEPTEMGEMINO jactantior æthera pulset
Roma JUGO:———

And Prudentius, ROMANI MARTYRIS SUPPLICIUM, 414.

Ubi iste vester tunc erat summus Deus,
Divûm favore quum puer Mavortius
Fundaret ARCEM SEPTICOLLEM Romulus?

35. ———————— *with palaces adorn'd,*
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves—]

The Author, having before mentioned temples and towers, has in these lines comprehensively summed up all the other marks of Roman magnificence, that could be distinguished on such a view as is here exhibited.

35. ———————— *with palaces adorn'd,*]

These were a subject of immense expence and grandeur. Clodius, the antagonist of Milo, even in the times of the republic, dwelt in a house that cost near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money.—We may form some judgment of the size and extent of the Roman palaces, from what is said of them by the writers of the Augustan age. Sallust mentions "domos et villas IN URBIUM MODUM EXÆDIFICATAS." BELL. CATILIN. 12. And Ovid uses a similar expression, speaking of the house which Augustus Cæsar pulled down, as setting a dangerous example of luxury, when he built the Temple of Concord, and the Livian Portico, in its room.

Disce tamen, veniens ætas, ubi Livia nunc est
Porticus, immensæ tecta fuisse domûs.
URBIS OPUS DOMUS UNA FUIT; spatiumque tenebat,
Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
Hæc æquata solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
Sed quia luxuriâ visa nocere suâ.

FAST. vi. 639.

Seneca also speaks in the same manner of the private houses in his time; "ædificia privata LAXITATEM URBIUM MAGNARUM VINCENTIA." DE BENEFIC. vii. 10. and EPIST. xc. he notices "domos INSTAR URBIUM."

36. *Porches*—]

The Porticos also were an article of immense magnificence at Rome. They were elevated structures of great extent; and were much resorted to for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter.—Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico;

Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,—

DE SPECTAC. EP. ii. 9.

and

Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes,

and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius, in the Circus Flaminius,

—— centum pendentia tecta columnis;—
L. ii. Ep. xiv.

Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos.

Tu modo Pompeiâ lentus spatiare sub umbrâ,
Cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit;
Aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater
Addidit, externo marmore dives opus.
Nec tibi vitętur, quœ priscis sparsa tabellis
Porticus auctoris Livia nomen habet.
De Art. Amand. i. 67.

These buildings were introduced by Scipio Nasica, on the termination of the Punic war; who built one in the Capitol. Besides those which were separate buildings by themselves, others were prefixed to temples, theatres, and baths.——The Portico, which Augustus erected before the Temple of Apollo in memory of the battle of Actium, is particularly described by Propertius, L. 2. El. xxxi.; and is also mentioned by Ovid, L. 3. Trist. i. 59. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Juvenal speaks of the

—— porticus, in qua
Gestatur dominus, quoties pluit:——
Sat. vii. 178.

And Paterculus, having spoken of the public Porticos, adds; "publicam magnificentiam secuta "privata luxuria est." L. ii. C. 1.

36. ———— *theatres*,—]

The Theatres, in which we may include the *Amphitheatres*, *Circi* and *Naumachiæ*, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expence. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms "opus maximum omnium quæ umquam "fuere humanâ manu facta." L. xxxvi. C. 15. This building he likewise mentions (L. xxxvi. C. 2.) to have been erected at this wonderful expence, scarcely for the amusement of one month.—Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; for which, according to Tacitus, he was censured, as introducing new customs tending to corrupt the manners of the people. (Annal. xiv. C. xx.) Permanent theatres of a great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Statilius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius, who also, (Tacit. Annal. vi. 42.), repaired that of Pompey which had been destroyed by fire.—Nero afterwards (according to Pliny, L. xxxiii. C. 3.) covered this theatre with gold.

36. ———— *baths*,—]

The great extent of the Roman public baths may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Dioclesian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome "in modum pro-"vinciarum extructa," (L. xvi. C. 10;) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading *piscinarum* rather than *provinciarum*.—Rutilius, in his Itinerarium, says;

Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
102.

The baths even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their *baths* and *porticos*.

Balnea sexcentis, et pluris porticus,——
Sat. vii. 178.

where, if *sexcentis* be understood of the *sestertium*, which the sense seems to require that it should, the expence of a private bath is estimated by the satyrist at near five thousand pounds of our money. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in the Epistle, where, having described the bath of Scipio Africanus, "Balneolum angus-"tum, tenebrosum ex consuetudine antiquâ," he compares the manners of his own contemporaries with those of a former age.—"At nunc quis est, "qui sic lavari sustineat? Pauper sibi videtur et "sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus "refulserunt;

Above the heighth of mountains interpos'd;
(By what strange parallax, or optic skill 40

" refulserunt; nisi Alexandrina marmora Numi-
" dicis crustis distincta sunt; nisi illis undique
" operosa et in picturæ modum variata circumlitio
" prætexitur; nisi vitro absconditur camera; nisi
" Thasius Lapis, quondam rarum in aliquo spec-
" taculum templo, piscinas nostras circumdedit;
" ———nisi aquam argentea epistomia fuderunt.
" Et adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor: quid cum ad
" balnea libertinorum pervenero? Quantum sta-
" tuarum, quantum columnarum est nihil susti-
" nentium, sed in ornamentum positarum, et im-
" pensæ causâ!———Eo deliciarum pervenimus,
" ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus." Ep. lxxxvi.
——Statius has a poem, the subject of which is the bath of Claudius Etruscus; which he describes in the same manner.

Nil ibi plebeium; nusquam Temeseia notabis
Æra, sed argento fælix propellitur unda,
Argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus instat
Delicias mirata suas, et abire recusat.
1 Sylv. v. 47.

36. ———— *aqueducts,*]

These were some of the noblest works of the Romans. Frontinus, in his Treatise *de Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ*, affirms them to have been " mag-
" nitudinis Romani Imperii præcipuum indicium." Pliny speaks particularly of the aqueduct begun by Caius Cæsar, and finished by Claudius, as far exceeding all that had ever been before it in every respect. L. xxxvi. C. 15. The expence he says was " sestertium ter millies," equal to about a million and half sterling.—Rutilius, speaking of the

——— aerio pendentes fornice rivos,

adds,

Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes;
Tale Giganteum Græcia laudat opus.
Itinerar. 97.

37. *Statues,*—]

The passion of the Romans for statues appears from the number of antique statues yet remaining at Rome, after the numerous desolations of that city. Greece, Asia, and Egypt were all plundered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird's eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperors, standing on superb columns.—Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the " elatos
" vertices, qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, pri-
" orum principum imitamenta portantes." These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

37. ———— *trophies,*—]

Rutilius notices the numberless trophies which decorated every part of the city of Rome;

Quod regnas minus est, quam quod regnare mereris;
Excedis factis grandia fata tuis.
Percensere labor densis decora alta trophæis,
Ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit.
Itinerar. 91.

Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbric trophies of Marius.

37. ———— *triumphal arcs,*]

The arches erected in honor of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. Claudian refers to the arches adorned with trophies.

——— septem circumspice montes,
Qui solis radios auri fulgore lacessunt,
Indutosque arcus spoliis,————
In Secund. Cons. Stilich. 65.

38. *Gardens and groves,*—]

These were high articles of luxury among the Romans. Those of Lucullus are mentioned by Plutarch, as even in his time the most magnificent of any belonging to the emperor. Messalina, the adulterous

Of vision, multiply'd through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to inquire:)
And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.
THE city which thou seest no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,

adulterous consort of Claudius, caused Valerius Asiaticus to be put to death, that she might get possession of these gardens,—" hortos inhians quos " ille a Lucullo coemptos insigni magnificentiâ " excolebat." Tacit. ANNAL. xi. 1.——Julius Cæsar by will bequeathed his gardens near the river Tiber to the Roman people. Martial mentions groves of laurel, planes, and cypresses, as contributing much to the luxury and elegance of a mansion; and joins them with baths and porticos.

Daphnonas, platanonas, et aerias cyparissos,
Et non unius balnea solus habes;
Et tibi centenis stat porticus alta columnis,
Calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet onyx.
L. xii. EP. 50.

40. *By what strange parallax, or optic skill*
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope—]

The learned have been very idly busy in contriving the manner in which Satan shewed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words: Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuò reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi. In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius, in his Curæ philologicæ in SS. Evangelia, fathers this whim upon him: Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis opticæ se recipiunt. Vid. Wolf. in Matt. iv. 8. *Thyer.*

The learned Bochart has a Dissertation on this subject; the following passage of which might here have been in Milton's recollection. " Eo usque " progreditur hominum industria, ut instrumentis " quibusdam opticis, telescopiis, microscopiis, et " speculis, &c. remotissima quæque oculis subjiciat, " minutissima quævis adducat in conspectum, ob- " jectorum situm prorsus immutet, adeo ut poste- " riora anterius, inferius superiora cernantur. Nul- " latenus profecto dubitandum quin longe major sit " Diaboli in objectis admovendis, amplificandis, " suo situ emovendis, &c. vis ac solertia; cum " pro tubis opticis, aut speculis bipedalibus, vel " tripedalibus, quibus solemus uti, ille præsto " nubes habeat, quas ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris " princeps, fingit ac usurpat."
Bochart. Tom. i. p. 949.

42. —— *were curious to enquire:*]

This is something in the manner of a passage in Horace, L. iv, Ode 4, where speaking of the Vindelici, he says,

—— quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazoniâ securi
Dextras obarmet, QUÆRERE DISTULI;

on which passage the Delphin Commentator observes, *Hæc ironiam sane continent in quosdam eo tempore de nugis ejusmodi acrius et perperam disputantes.*—Milton may be supposed here to allude to the *idly busy* enquiries of the learned, *acrius et perperam disputantes* concerning the optic skill of Satan, in displaying this distant scene before our blessed Lord.

45. —— *great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,*
So far renown'd,—]

In

So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations: there the Capitol thou seest,
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there mount Palatine,

In the ELEVENTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, where Michael shews Adam the four divisions of the world, Rome in its plenitude of power is described as the great distinguishing feature of Europe.

—— Europe thence, and where ROME WAS TO SWAY
THE WORLD;——

405.

Thus Propertius terms Rome,

Septem urbs alta jugis, QUÆ TOTI PRÆSIDET ORBI,
L. iii. El. 10.

And Lucan, ii. 655.

Ipsa CAPUT MUNDI, bellorum maxima merces
Roma,——

Martial likewise addresses her,

TERRARUM DEA GENTIUMQUE ROMA,
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum.
L. xii. Ep. 8.

And in the SIXTH Book of the ÆNEID, where Anchises, shewing to Æneas in the shades the Roman heroes that were to descend from him, points out Romulus as the founder of Rome;

En hujus, nate, auspiciis ILLA INCLYTA ROMA
IMPERIUM TERRIS, animos æquabit Olympo;——
782.

Rutilius, in his ITINERARIUM, where he describes himself quitting Rome, thus begins a most affectionate valedictory address to her;

Exaudi, REGINA TUI PULCHERRIMA MUNDI,
Inter sidereos Roma recepta polos.
L. i. 47.

46. —— *with the spoils enrich'd*
Of nations:—]

This refers to the immense sums carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals; and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their friendship.—Lucan, where he relates the plundering of the treasury by Julius Cæsar, particularly describes the spoils and treasures accumulated by these rulers of the world.

—— tunc conditus imo
Eruitur templo, multis intactus ab annis,
Romani census populi, quem Punica bella,
Quem dederat Perses, quem victi præda Philippi:
Quod tibi Roma fuga Pyrrhus trepidante reliquit,
Quo te Fabricius regi non vendidit auro,
Quicquid parcorum mores servastis avorum,
Quod dites Asiæ populi misêre tributum,
Victorique dedit Minöia Creta Metello,
Quod Cato longinqua vexit super æquora Cypro.
Tunc Orientis opes, captorumque ultima regum
Quæ Pompeianis prælata est gaza triumphis
Egeritur;——
PHARSAL. iii. 155.

47. —— *there the Capitol thou seest,*
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable;—]

Thus Virgil, ÆN. viii. 652.

In summo custos TARPEIÆ Manlius ARCIS
Stabat pro templo, et CAPITOLIA CELSA tenebat.

And Silius Italicus, iii. 623.

AUREA TARPEIÂ ponet CAPITOLIA RUPE.

Tacitus, speaking of the Capitol, terms it, "munitissimam Capitolii ARCEM, ET NE MAGNIS "QUIDEM EXERCITIBUS EXPUGNABILEM."
HIST. iii. 78.

50. —— *there mount Palatine,*
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure,—]

Servius supposes, that Virgil, in describing the palace of Latinus in the SEVENTH ÆNEID, had a view to Augustus's palace on the Palatine mount.

Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis,
Urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici;

Horrendum

The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires:
Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of God, (so well I have dispos'd
My aery microscope,) thou may'st behold,
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,

Horrendum sylvis et religione parentum.
Hinc sceptra accipere, et primos attollere fasces
Regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum,
Hæ sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete cæso
Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.

170.

Bianchini, in his *Palazzo de Cesari,* adopts the same opinion, and further observes that at this passage the Vatican Virgil has a portico of eight pillars in front, of the Corinthian order and fluted. This, he supposes, was designed to represent the vestibule of Augustus's palace, which he adds might probably be standing when that manuscript was written. Mr. Holdsworth says, it is probable that Augustus's palace was built just about the time when Virgil was writing this part of his poem.———But the imperial palace, or at least that part of it in which Augustus really resided, was neither extensive nor magnificent. Suetonius describes Augustus residing "in ædibus modicis, et neque laxitate, neque cultu "conspicuis; ut in quibus porticus breves essent "Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo "aut insigni pavimento conclavia." Sueton. Vit. August. 72.

In the following passage from Claudian we may perhaps trace something like the groundwork of this description of Rome.

Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti,
Exsultatque habitante Deo, potioraque Delphis
Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit;
Atque suas ad signa jubet revirescere laurus.
Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
Esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas
Æstimat, et summi sentit fastigia juris.
Attollens apicem subjectis regia rostris
Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum
Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis
Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantas,
Cœlatasque fores, mediisque volantia signa
Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis,
Æraque vestitis numerosa puppe columnis
Consita, subnixasque jugis immanibus ædes,
Naturam cumulante manu; spoliisque micantes
Innumeros arcus. Acies stupet igne metalli,
Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro.

De vi. Cons. Honor. 35.

54. *Turrets, and terraces,*—]

Thus in the Spirit's votive address of thanks to Sabrina, at the conclusion of the Comus;

May thy lofty head be crown'd
With many a TOWER AND TERRACE round!

where Mr. Warton observes that Milton, who then lived at Horton near Colnebrook, was impressed with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor Castle. The descriptive and poetical ideas that our Poet once caught he seldom relinquished: he seems here to have blended the old English Castle with his Roman view.

58. *Outside and inside both,*—]

So Menippus, in Lucian's Icaro-Menippus, could see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors, and within,* where they thought themselves most secret. καθαχυψας γαρ εις την γην, εωρων ζαρως τας πολεις, τους ανθρωπους, τα γινομενα, και

Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory or gold. 60

και α τα εν ὑπαιθρῳ μονον, αλλα και ὁποσα οικοι επφατ-τον, οιομενοι λανθανειν. Luciani Op. Vol. II. p. 197. Ed. Græv. *Calton.*

58. ——— *pillars and roofs,*
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory, and gold.]

Thus in PARADISE LOST, Pandæmonium is described

Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculpture graven;
The roof was fretted gold.
i. 713.

59. ——— *the hand of fam'd artificers,*]

The *handywork*, as in Virgil, Æn. i. 455.

ARTIFICUMQUE MANUS inter se operumque laborem
Miratur.
Newton.

Thus in the PARADISE LOST, ix. 436.

Among thick-woven arborets and flowers
Imborder'd on each bank, the HAND of Eve;

And IBID. i. 732.

——— his HAND was known
In Heaven by many a tower'd structure high.

We find the same figure of speech in Petronius Arbiter. "Zeuxidos MANUS vidi, nondum vetus-"tatis injuria victas." SATYRIC. p. 311. Ed. Hadrian.

Thus also Silius Italicus, xiv. 653.

——— hic sancta vetustas
ARTIFICUM MANIBUS,———

And Statius, 1 SYLV. iii. 47.

Vidi artes, veterumque MANUS———

60. *In cedar, marble, ivory, and gold.*]

The Romans were incredibly expensive in the columns and roofs, or cielings of their houses. Pliny mentions three hundred and sixty columns of foreign marble erected by M. Scaurus for the scenery of a temporary theatre. L. xxxvi. C. 2. L. Crassus, the orator, had, as some copies of Pliny read, sixty columns of Hymettian marble, each twelve feet high, in his palace. L. xxxvi. C. 3. Columns were afterwards made of the *lapis alabastrites*, or *onyx*, which was brought from the mountains of Arabia. Pliny says he saw more than thirty of this sort in the supper apartments of Callistus a freedman of Claudius. L. xxxvi. C. 7. The walls of their houses were incrusted with marble. Plin. xxxvi. 6. The ceilings even of private houses were covered with gold, "laquearia quæ nunc et in privatis domibus "auro teguntur." Plin. xxxiii. 3. The beams were decorated in a similar manner. Statius, 1 SYLV. iii. 35, notices the *auratas trabes* in the villa of Manlius Vopiscus; and Propertius speaks of

——— camera AURATAS inter eburna TRABES.

That Ivory was employed, we learn from Horace's

Non EBUR, neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar,—
L. ii. Ode 18.

And from Statius, 1 SYLV. 3. 48.

——— labor est auri memorare figuras,
Aut EBUR,———

Ennius, in a fragment of his ANDROMACHE, thus speaks of the palace of Priam;

Vidi ego te, adstante ope barbarica,
Tectis cœlatis, laqueatis,
AURO, EBORE, instructam regifice.

As Homer had done of that of Menelaus at Sparta; which he describes "adorned with gold, "silver, ivory, and amber."

——— δωματα ηχηεντα
ΧΡΥΣΟΥ τ', ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΥ τε και, ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ, ηδ' ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΟΣ.
ODYSS. iv. 72.

For the united magnificence of "marble, ivory, "and gold," we may refer to Lucan's description of the palace of Cleopatra at Alexandria, which he terms

Nondum translatos Romana in sæcula luxus;

intimating that at the time he wrote there was no occasion to go from Rome to Egypt in search of palaces thus splendidly decorated.

Ipse

Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entring in;
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces,
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
Lictors and rods the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings:
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Emilian; some from farthest south,

Ipse locus templi, quod vix corruptior ætas
Extruat, instar erat; laquearaque tecta ferebant
Divitias, crassumque trabes absconderet AURUM.
Nec summis crustata domus, sectisque nitebat
MARMORIBUS; stabatque sibi non segnis Achates,
Purpureusque lapis, totaque effusus in aula
Calcabatur onyx: Hebenus Marcotica vastos
Non operit postes, sed stat pro robore vili
Auxilium, non forma domus. EBUR atria vestit,
Et suffixa manu foribus testudinis Indæ
Terga sedent, crebro maculas distincta Smaragdo.
PHARSAL. X. 111.

Cedar was used by the ancients in their buildings. Hence Virgil, speaking of the woods of Caucasus, GEORG. ii. 442.

—— dant utile lignum
Navigiis pinus, domibus CEDROSQUE cupressosque.

Pliny says the beams of Diana's temple at Ephesus were of cedar. L. xvi. C. 11.

63. *Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces*
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state, &c.—]

The rapacity of the Roman provincial governors, and their eagerness to take possession of their *prey*, is here strongly marked by the word *hasting*. Their pride and vanity was not less than their rapacity, and was displayed not only in their triumphs, but in their magisterial state upon all occasions. The pride and state of the Roman magistrates is noticed by Sallust, who also refers to their infamously rapacious conduct;——" incedunt per ora vestra " magnifice sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos " suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non " PRÆDÆ, habeant." BELL. JUGURTH. C. 31.

66. —————— *turms of horse*—]

Troops of horse; as Bp. Newton observes, from the Latin, *turma*. Virg. ÆN. v. 560.

——— equitum TURMÆ,——

68. ———— *on the Appian road,*
Or the Emilian,—]

The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the Emilian towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, those on the Emilian in ver. 77—79. *Newton.*

69. ———————— *some from farthest south,*
Syene,—]

Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi*, *ultimi*, to any people that lived a great way off; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe*. *Jortin.*

69. ———————— *from farthest south,*
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, &c.—]

He first mentions places in *Africa*; *Syene*, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia; Ditionis Ægypti esse incipit a fine Æthiopiæ Syene; Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9.; *Meroe*, an island and city of Ethiopia,

Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotic isle; and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreath'd;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north

Ethiopia in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotic isle, where the shadow both way falls;* Rursus in Meroe, (insula hæc caputque gentis Æthiopum—— in amne Nilo habitatur,) bis anno absumi umbras; Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73.; *the realm of Bocchus*, Mauritania. Then *Asian* nations; among these *the golden Chersonese*, Malacca the most southern promontory of the East Indies, (see Paradise Lost, xi. 392.;) *and utmost Indian isle Taprobane*, wherefore Pliny says it is "extra orbem a natura re-"legata;" Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the *Europæan* nations as far as to *the Tauric pool*, that is the palus Mæotis; "Lacus ipse Mæotis, Tanain amnem ex "Riphæis montibus defluentem accipiens, novis-"simum inter Europam Asiamque finem, &c." Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. *Newton.*

The description here, seems governed by the cardinal points. It first looks *southward*, to Africa; then *eastward*, to Asia; then *westward*, to France, Spain, and the British Islands; then *northward*, to Germany, antient Scythia, and the most northern European nations.

71. *Meroe, Nilotic isle;*—]

Diodorus Siculus mentions Meroe as the largest of the islands formed by the course of the Nile.

Claudian terms it

—— Meroe CIRCUMFLUA NILO.
DE NUPT. HONOR. ET MAR. 223.

71. —— *Nilotic*—]

Martial, speaking of Egypt, calls it

—— NILOTICA tellus.
L. vi. Ep. 80.

72. *The realm of Bocchus*—]

Thus Claudian;

Arx incensa Jubæ; rabies Marusia ferro
Cessit, et ANTIQUI PENETRALIA diruta BOCCHI.
DE iv. CONS. HONOR. 39.

And Ariosto, ORLANDO FURIOSO, L. xxxii;

Leva al fin gli occhi; e vede il Sol che'l tergo
Havea mostrato a LA CITTA DI BOCCHO.

72. —— *to the Black-moor sea;*]

—— ubi MAURA semper
Æstuat UNDA.
Hor. L. ii. Ode vi. 3.

73. —— *and Parthian among these,*]

The Tempter having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immense forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is displayed in the embassies of distant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome.

77. —— *Gades,*—]

Gades, the old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the straits of Gibraltar, is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome; which the Romans distinguished by the name of *Hispania ulterior*.

78. *Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north*
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.]

The

Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.
All nations now to Rome obedience pay;
To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth, and power,
Civility of manners, arts and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd;
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all

The Danube was the southern boundary of antient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, all along the shores of the Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them northward, the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians. All the intermixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Æra to have been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians; which names antient historians have much confounded. These two nations extended themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached quite to the Nørthern Ocean; which was thence called Oceanus Sarmaticus. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean;

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet, et glacialem
Oceanum,——

SAT. ii. 1.

Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern Ocean.

84. —— *thou justly may'st prefer*
Before the Parthian.—]

The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, iii. 363.

—— the Parthian first
By my advice:

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light.

Newton.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the Tempter, than it indicates a "shuffling." Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been successful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plausible. "You," says he, "may very possibly "prefer an alliance with the Romans, whose power "and splendor I have just displayed, to one with "the Parthians; and you judge wisely in so doing."

88. —— *I have shown thee all*
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.]

The Poet in the preceding Book had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he shews and describes Imperial Rome, the "Queen of the Earth," in all her magnificence of splendor and pride of power; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies. Thus admirably has he depicted "the kingdoms of the world, and all their

The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
This emperor hath no son, and now is old, 90
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
To Capreæ, an island small, but strong,
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there

" glory," in the great and principal empire of the Heathen world: very judiciously also and with considerable effect has he wound up his extended and highly finished description, by recurring to the *brief* account in scripture of the Devil shewing our Lord *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.* Mat. iv.

90. *This emperor hath no son, &c.*—]

The accuracy and historical correctness, with which the character of Tiberius is here drawn, is well worth noticing.——It is mentioned by Dion Cassius, that when there ceased to be any immediate successor fit to undertake the government, the conduct of the emperor, which had till that time been eminent and exemplary, was so changed as to become the very reverse of what it had before been. Τιβεριος δε επει το επεδρειον ουκετ' ειχεν, ες παν τουναντιον τῶν προσθεν ειργασμενων αυτῷ, πολλῶν ὀντων και καλων, περιεστη. lvii. It is also said of him by Tacitus, that in the ninth year of his government, in which year Drusus died, he began to assume that conduct for which our Poet justly brands him as a " monster;" ——" cœpit sævire ipse, aut sævientibus vires præ-" bere." ANNAL. iv. 1.

90. ——————— *and now is old,*
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
To Capreæ,—]

The retreat of Tiberius to Capreæ was in the year of Rome 780, being the thirteenth of his reign, and the sixty-eighth of his age. This was the twenty-seventh year of the Christian Æra, so that at the time our Poet is speaking of him, he was more than seventy. That his vices encreased with his age, or at least that he more openly indulged them, we learn from Tacitus, who in the conclusion of his character says, " postremo in " scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam " remoto pudore et metu, suo tantum ingenio " utebatur." *Annal.* vi. 51.——And Suetonius, describing some of his " horrid lusts," says, " pronior sane ad id genus libidinis, et natura, " et ætate." C. 44.

92. ——————— *an island small but strong*
On the Campanian shore,—]

Suetonius thus describes Capreæ.—— " Capreas " se contulit: præcipue delectatus insula, quod " uno parvoque littore adiretur, septa undique " præruptis immensæ altitudinis rupibus, et pro-" fundo maris." *Vit. Tiber.* C. 40.———And Tacitus, " Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium " millium freto ab extremis Surrentini promon-" torii disjunctam. Solitudinem ejus placuisse " maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa " mare, et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; " neque adpulerit quisquam, nisi gnaro custode." ANNAL. iv. 67.

93. ——————— *with purpose there*
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,]

Suetonius, C. 42, describing Tiberius in the island of Capreæ, says;—— " secreti licentiam " nactus, quasi civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta " simul vitia, male diu dissimulata, tandem pro-" fudit." And in the following chapter he proceeds to describe the *arcanæ libidines* of this monster.—Tacitus also describes him when he had once quitted Capreæ to go to Rome, returning immediately to his retreat, and his " horrid lusts."—Saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum; quibus adeo indomitis exarserit, &c.—ANNAL. vi. 1. And he had before described him on his first retiring to Capreæ, " quanto intentus " olim

His horrid lusts in private to enjoy;
Committing to a wicked favorite
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,

" olim in publicas curas, tanto occultos in luxus,
" et malum otium resolutus." iv. 67.

95. *Committing to a wicked favorite*
All public cares,—]

Tiberius's total neglect of all "public cares," after his retreat to Capreæ, is particularly specified by Suetonius. " Regressus in insulam, Reipublicæ
" quidem curam usque adeo abjecit, ut postea non
" decurias equitum unquam supplerit; non tribunos
" militum præfectosque, non provinciarum præsides
" ullos mutaverit; Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot
" annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit, &c." C. 41.—The character of his " wicked favorite," Sejanus, is thus drawn by Tacitus. " Corpus illi
" laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens,
" in alios criminator; juxta adulatio et superbia;
" palam compositus pudor, intus summa adipiscendi
" libido; ejusque causâ, modo largitio et luxus,
" sæpius industria ac vigilentia, haud minus noxiæ,
" quotiens parando regno finguntur." ANNAL. iv. 1.——The power and authority of Sejanus, under the unbounded favor and compliance of the emperor, is related by the same historian.———
" inripere paulatim militares animos, adeundo, ap-
" pellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse de-
" ligere: neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat, cli-
" entes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornando,
" facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum,
" non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et
" populum celebraret, colique per theatra et fora
" effigies ejus, interque principia legionum si-
" neret." C. 2.———His authority is described, after the retreat of Tiberius, to have been still increased: it is also intimated that his wickedness was less concealed. The historian, speaking of the consulship, adds, " ad quem non, nisi per Sejanum,
" aditus: neque Sejani voluntas, nisi scelere quæ-
" rebatur." ANNAL. iv. 68.——It may be observed that a very different character of Sejanus is given by Velleius Paterculus, who terms him *singularem principalium onerum adjutorem*. But it must be recollected that it was written, when Sejanus was in the height of his power. Tacitus particularly specifies, as a reason of his own undertaking to develope the history of this period, the false and flattering histories of Tiberius and his successors, which were written by persons immediately contemporary with them, and therefore afraid to speak the truth. " Tiberii Caiique, Claudii ac Neronis
" res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ compositæ
" sunt." ANNAL. i. 1.

96. ——————— *and yet of him suspicious,*]

Tacitus speaks of Tiberius as in a certain degree restraining and concealing the ferocity of his disposition, " dum Sejanum dilexit, TIMUITVE." ANNAL. vi. 51.——Suetonius also notices his suspicions of Sejanus, where he charges the emperor himself with having put to death the two sons of Germanicus;——" quorum ipse alterum SUSPECTO
" jam, alterum oppresso demum Sejano, interemit." 61.——The natural disposition of Tiberius to suspicion, immediately on his accession to the government, is strongly depicted in a passage of Tacitus, respecting the death of L. Arruntius;——" nulla
" vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum,
" artibus egregiis, et pari famâ publicè, SUSPEC-
" TABAT." ANNAL. i. 13.—His hatred and suspicion of many person, at the time when he quitted Rome, are particularly mentioned by Seneca, where he speaks of the confidence which both Augustus and Tiberius placed in L. Piso.—" Huic et Divus
" Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum præ-
" poneret Thraciæ, quam perdomuit; et Tiberius
" proficiscens in Campaniam, cum MULTA in urbe
" SUSPECTA relinquere et INVISA." EPIST. lxxxiii.

97. *Hated of all, and hating;—*]

Such

Indued with regal virtues as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
Now made a stye, and, in his place ascending,
A victor people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Aim therefore at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophecy'd what will.
To whom the Son of God unmov'd reply'd.
Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell

Such was the general detestation in which Tiberius was held at last, that the Parthian king, Artabanus, wrote letters to him enumerating the various abominable crimes of which he had been guilty, and advising him that by putting an end to himself, "MAXIMO JUSTISSIMOQUE CIVIUM "ODIO quam primum satisfaceret." Sueton. VIT. TIBER. 66.——And that his own resentments and suspicions of others, were equal to their detestation of him, may be collected from Suetonius, who says, "Quam vero inter hæc non modo invisus ac "detestabilis, sed PRÆTREPIDUS quoque, atque "OBNOXIUS vixerit, multa indicia sunt." 63.

100. ——————— *this monster*—]

Thus Cicero, speaking of Catiline; "nulla jam "pernicies a MONSTRO ILLO atque prodigio mœ-"nibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur." 2. IN CATILIN. 1.

101. *Now made a stye,*—]

Cicero, in his Oration IN PISONEM, S. 16, addresses Piso by the title of "Epicure noster, "EX HARA PRODUCTE,"——

Thus also, COMUS, 76;

To roll with pleasure IN A SENSUAL STYE.

103. ——————— *to me the power*
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.]

All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; FOR THAT IS DELIVERED UNTO ME, AND TO WHOMSOEVER I WILL I GIVE IT. Luke, iv. 6.

Their

Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic stone,
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read,)
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,

114. *Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts,*]

The poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius, C. 13. of the SUMPTUOUS GLUTTONIES of Vitellius, or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius; of whom Seneca says, "cujus exitum nosse, operæ "pretium est. Cum sestertium millies in culinam "congessisset, cum tot congiaria principum, et "ingens Capitolii vectigal singulis commessati-"onibus exsorpsisset; ære alieno oppressus, rationes "suas tunc primum inspexit. Superfuturum sibi "sestertium centies," (upwards of eighty thousand pounds of our money,) "computavit; et velut in ul-"tima fame victurus, si in sestertio centies vixisset, "veneno vitam finivit." DE CONSOLAT. AD HELV. C. 10.——The *gorgeousness* of the Roman *feasts* is thus described by a poet of the Augustan age;

——— Triclinia templis
Concertant; tectique auro jam vescimur aurum.
Manilius, L. v. 507.

115. *On citron tables or Atlantic stone,*]

Tables made of *citron* wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully veined and spotted. See his account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantic stone* or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors.

Newton.

Among Cicero's charges against Verres, we find the following; "TU MAXIMAM ET PULCHER-"RIMAM MENSAM CITREAM a Q. Lutatio Dio-"doro, qui Q. Catuli beneficiis a L. Sullâ civis "Romanus factus est, omnibus scientibus Lilybœi "abtulisti."—This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not superior to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. EP. lxxxix.

Accipe felices, ATLANTICA munera, sylvas
Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit.

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. "Nuncubi hic "vides CITRUM, AUT AURUM."

Citron tables are mentioned by Lucan in his description of the gorgeous feast given by Cleopatra to Cæsar.

Dentibus hic niveis SECTOS ATLANTIDE SYLVÂ
Imposuere ORBES; quales ad Cæsaris ora
Nec capto venere Jubâ.
PHARSAL. X. 144.

Milton, I should suppose, did not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of "Atlantic "stone." Indeed it does not appear that the Romans ever used marble for tables. *Atlantic* must therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is said to have grown no where but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called "Atlantic "marble" or "stone," from its marble-like appearance; being curiously veined and spotted.

117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,*]

These were three of the most famous Campanian wines among the Romans. Pliny, speaking of Campania, says, "Hinc felix illa Campania est. "Ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles, et temu-"lantia nobilis succo per omnes terras inclyto; "atque, (ut veteres dixere,) summum Liberi Patris "cum Cerere certamen. Hinc SETINI et Cæcub. "obtenduntur agri. His junguntur FALERNI, "CALENI."—HIST. NAT. iii. 5.

The Falernian was commonly considered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil, GEORG. ii. 96.

——— nec cellis ideo contende FALERNIS.

And Tibullus, speaking of the Falernian district, terms it

——— Bacchi cura, FALERNUS ager.
L. i. El. 9.

And Varro, De R. R.—i. 2;——"Quod far "conferam Campano? Quod triticum Appulo? "Quod

Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, imboss'd with gems

" QUOD VINUM FALERNO? Quod oleum Ve-
" nafro?"

Setine wine, according to Pliny, was the favorite wine of Augustus. " Divus Augustus Setinum præ-
" tulit cunctis." xiv. 6.—Martial speaks of Setia, now *Sezza*, famous for its wine, and its situation on the brow of a hill;

Pendula Pomptinos quæ spectat SETIA campos
Exiguâ vetulos misit ab urbe cados.
L. xiii. EP. 112.

Nec quæ paludes DELICATA Pomptinas
Ex arce CLIVI spectat UVA SETINI,——
L. x. EP. 74.

The same poet seems to put the Setine wine upon a footing with the Falernian;

Ebria SETINO fit sæpe, et sæpe FALERNO.
L. xii. EP. 17.

Pliny calls the principal town of the *ager Calenus*, CALENUM. Silius Italicus calls it both *Cales* and *Cale*, viii. 513.—xii. 525. Virgil and Horace write it *Cales*. The latter, in an Ode addressed to the former, speaks of the Calenian wine, as a wine of value;

Sed PRESSUM CALIBUS ducere LIBERUM
Si gestis,——
L. 4. ODE xii. 14.

In another Ode, where he invites Mæcenas to visit him, he speaks of it jointly with the *Cæcubum*, but seems to consider it as inferior to the *Falernum*, which he tells his patron that his cellars do not afford.

Cæcubum et PRÆLO DOMITAM CALENO
Tu bibes uvam. Mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.
1 ODE. XX. 9.

And yet Pliny, having noticed the Cæcuban, as a most generous and celebrated wine, and proceeding to speak of the Falernian, says, " Secunda " nobilitas Falerno agro erat." NAT. HIST. xiv. 6. —Horace, 1 ODE, xxxi. 9. speaks of the Calenian wine as a luxury of the highest kind.

118. *Chios and Crete,—*]

Pliny, speaking of the wines imported into Italy, says, " in summâ gloria fuerunt Thasium CHI-
" UMQUE. Ex Chio quod Arvisium vocant." xiv. 7. And Virgil, ECL. v. 71.

VINA NOVUM fundam calathis ARVISIA NECTAR.

Silius Italicus likewise terms it

—— AMBROSIIS ARVISIA pocula SUCCIS.
vii. 210.

Strabo describes the country of Arvisium as producing the best of all the Greek wines. Ἡ Αρυσια χωρα οινον αριστον φερουσα των Ἑλληνικων. L. xiii.

Horace places the Chian among the rich wines in the miser's cellar;

—— positis intus CHII veterisque Falerni
Mille cadis,——
2 SATIR. iii. 115.

He likewise alludes to the high estimation in which this wine was held, L. 3. Ode xix. 5.

Quo CHIUM pretio cadum
Mercemur,——

The wines of Crete are joined with those of Chios or Scios, by Tasso. GIERUSAL. LIB. i. 78.

Ogni isola de' Greci à lui sol mieta,
E SCIO pietrosa gli vindemmi, è CRETA.

The isles of Greece sent in provisions meet,
And store of wine from Scios came and Crete.
Fairfax.

Cretan wine is mentioned, together with the *Chian* and other celebrated wines of Greece, by Ælian; VAR. HIST. xii. 31.—Solinus, in his description of Crete, C. 17, says, " larga vitis; " mira soli indulgentia."—Martial celebrates the *passum*, made at Gnossus, a city of Crete;

Gnossia Minoiæ genuit VINDEMIA CRETÆ.
L. xiii. EP. 106.

Juvenal speaks of it as a rich wine;

—— PINGUE antiquæ de littore Cretæ
PASSUM,——
xiv. 270.

The *vinum passum* was made of grapes that were nearly dried. See Pliny, xiv. 9. Colum. xii. 16.

118. —— *how they quaff in gold,*
Crystal,

And studs of pearl; to me should'st tell, who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh: what honour that,

Crystal and myrrhine cups imboss'd with gems
And studs of pearl,—]

Crystal and *myrrhine* cups are often joined together by ancient authors. "Murrhino et crystal-"lina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium "faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, "hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere "quod posset statim totum perire." PLIN. Lib. xxxiii. Proem. We see that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among fossils; Scaliger, Salmasius, and others, contend from this verse of Propertius, iv. 26.

Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,

that they were like our porcelain: but if they were so very fragil as they are represented to be, it is not easy to conceive how they could be *imboss'd with gems and studs of pearl.* I suppose our author asserted it from the words immediately following in Pliny; "Nec hoc fuit satis: turba gemmarum "potamus, et smaragdis teximus calices: ac temu-"lentiæ causa tenere Indiam juvat: et aurum jam "accessio est." Or perhaps the words, *imboss'd with gems*, &c. refer only to *gold* first mentioned, which is no unusual construction. *They quaff in gold imboss'd with gems and studs of pearl.* *Newton.*

Crystal and myrrhine cups are mentioned together by Juvenal;

Grandia tolluntur CRYSTALLINA, maxima rursus
MYRRHINA,———

SAT. vi. 154.

And by Statius, 3 SYLV. iv. 57.

——— hic pocula magno
Prima duci, MYRRHASQUE graves CRYSTALLAQUE portat.

Thus also Martial;

Opinianum morionibus nectar
CRYSTALLINISQUE MYRRHINISQUE propinat.

L. 3. EP. lxxxii. 24.

For the great price given for these cups, see Meursius DE LUXU ROMANORUM, C. 8.

The myrrhine cups seem to have been considered as gems, and are described as such by some of the ancient writers. Thus Seneca, DE BENEFIC. vii. 9. in a passage where he had just mentioned the luxury of *citron tables*, and *crystalline cups*; "Video "MURRHINA POCULA: parum scilicet luxuria "magno furit, nisi, quod vomant, CAPACIBUS "GEMMIS inter se propinarent."——The large vases shewn in different parts of Italy, as being onyx, agate, &c. are by many people supposed of this myrrhine kind. See Mr. Holdsworth, on Virgil's *Ut gemmâ bibat*, &c. GEORG. ii. 506.—But in his unfinished vocabulary, at the end of the last edition of his work, he considers the *myrrhina* as a sort of porcelain.—That the ancients "quaff'd "in gold emboss'd with gems, &c." appears from numberless passages of their writers. Thus Cicero; "Exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum, "non pauca etiam POCULA EX AURO, quæ, ut "mos est regius, et maxime in Syriâ, GEMMIS "ERANT DISTINCTA CLARISSIMIS." IN VERREM. iv. 27.——Virgil also thus describes a bowl or goblet;

Hinc regina GRAVEM GEMMIS AUROQUE proposcit
Implevitque mero PATERAM,———

ÆN. i. 728.

Silius Italicus speaks of

ARGENTO fulgentia pocula, MIXTA
Queis GEMMA quæsitus honos,———

xiv. 661.

And Juvenal says,

—— nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus; tunc illa time, cum POCULA sumes
GEMMATA, et lato Setinum ardebit in AURO.

SAT. x. 27.

It appears, from the same satyrist, that the Romans were sometimes suspicious their guests might rob these rich cups of some of their valuable ornaments;

——— tibi non committitur aurum;
Vel, si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem,
Qui numeret gemmas, unguesque observet acutos.

SAT. v. 39

But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries? Then proceed'st to talk
Of the emperor, how easily subdued,
How gloriously: I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster; what if I withal
Expel a Devil who first made him such?
Let his tormenter conscience find him out;
For him I was not sent; nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and base;
Deservedly made vassal; who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
But govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces, exhausted all

124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,*
Outlandish flatteries?—]

Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration.

130. *Let his tormenter conscience find him out;*—]

Milton, as Dr. Jortin observes, had here in his mind Tacitus, who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the senate, adds; "Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi "quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra "præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si "recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici la-"niatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita "sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilace-"retur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non soli-"tudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suas-"que ipse pœnas fateretur." ANNAL. vi. 6.

131. *That people, victor once, now vile and base; &c.*]

This description of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once concisely fine, and accurately just.

136. *Peeling their provinces,*—]

This expression might be suggested by the well-known answer of Tiberius, at a time when his conduct was consistent with it. Being urged by some provincial governors to require an increase of tribute from the subject provinces, he replied, that "a good shepherd would be content to "sheer his "sheep without flaying them."—*boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non* DEGLUBERE. Sueton. TIBER. C. 32.—or, as reported by Dion Cassius, lvii.—— κειρεσθαι μη τα προβατα, αλλ' ουκ ΑΠΟΞΥΡΕΣΘΑΙ, βουλομαι. "I would sheer my sheep, but not to the "quick."

136. —————— *exhausted all*
By lust and rapine;—]

The rapine, by which the provinces subject to the Romans were drained and exhausted, was most notorious. The exactions of Verres in Sicily were estimated

By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity,

estimated by Cicero at a sum exceeding three hundred thousand pounds of our money. The oppression of the Asiatic provinces, by the Roman proconsuls and tax-gatherers, is particularly complained of in a speech of Mithridates, in Justin, where it is said, "Adeo illis odium Romanorum "incussit RAPACITAS PROCONSULUM, SECTIO "PUBLICANORUM," Justin, L. xxxviii. C. 7.—Cicero, in his Oration DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, brings many severe accusations of this kind against L. Piso and A. Gabinius, at that time proconsuls in Macedonia and Syria.—Against the former of these, to the charge of *rapine*, is joined that of *lust*.——"Quis vestrum hoc non audivit, "quis ignorat, Achæos ingentem pecuniam pen- "dere L. Pisoni quotannis? vectigal ac portiorum "Dyrrhachinorum totum in hujus unius quæstum "esse conversum? urbem Byzantiorum, vobis at- "que huic imperio fidelissimam, hostilem in mo- "dum esse vexatam? quo ille, posteaquam nihil "exprimere ab egentibus, nihil ulla vi a miseris "extorquere potuit, cohortes in hiberna misit; his "præposuit, quos putavit fore diligentissimos sa- "tellites scelerum, ministros cupiditatum suarum. "Omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra "leges senatusque consulta; cædes relinquo, li- "bidines prætereo; quarum acerbissimum extat "indicium, et ad insignem memoriam turpitu- "dinis, et pœne ad justum imperii nostri odium, "quod constat, nobilissimas virgines se in puteos "abjecisse, et morte voluntaria necessariam turpi- "tudinem depulisse." C. iii.——In the same Oration, speaking of Gabinius, he says; "Igitur "in Syria imperatore illo nihil aliud actum est, "nisi pactiones pecuniarum cum tyrannis, de- "cisiones, direptiones, latrocinia, cædes, &c." C. iv.——And afterwards, joining them both together, he terms them, "has duplices pestes so- "ciorum, militum clades, publicanorum ruinas, "provinciarum vastitates, imperii maculas." C. vi. —In the Oration likewise, IN L. PISONEM, he thus sums up the abominable conduct of Piso in his consulship, principally towards the provinces: "Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vexata, laceratæ "Athenæ, Dyrrhachium et Apollonia exinanita, "Ambracia direpta, Parthini et Bullienses illusi, "Epirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Bœotii exusti, Acar- "nania, Amphilochia, Perrhæbia Athamanumque "gens vendita, Macedonia condonata Barbaris, "Ætolia amissa, Dolopes finitimique montani op- "pidis atque agris exterminati, cives Romani, qui "in iis locis negotiantur, te unum solum suum de- "peculatorem, vexatorem, prædonem, hostem, ve- "nisse senserunt." C. 40.—In this Oration also the charges of lust and rapine are again jointly brought against Piso,——"evertisti miseras fun- "ditus civitates, quæ non solum bonis sunt ex- "haustæ, sed etiam nefarias libidinum contumelias "turpitudinesque subierunt." C. xxxv.——Some parts of these two Orations, which abound in charges of this double kind, were probably in Milton's recollection.—It must however be observed that *libido* is often used by Latin authors to signify any violent passion, and particularly that of gain and plunder. Thus Cicero, in his Oration DE LEGE AGRARIA, C. xx. "O LIBIDINEM "refrenandam!" where Turnebus observes, "*li- "bidinem cum dicit, cupiditatem, aviditatem denique "intelligit.*"

Our poet seems to have had this sense of *libido* in his mind, in his PARADISE LOST, iv. 194;

So since into his church LEWD hirelings climb.

137. ———— *ambitious grown*
Of triumph, that insulting vanity;—]

"Quid tandem habet iste currus? quid vincti "ante currum duces? quid simulacra oppidorum? "quid aurum? quid argentum? quid legati in "equis et tribuni? quod clamor militum? quid "tota illa pompa? INANIA SUNT ISTA, mihi "crede, delectamenta pœne puerorum, captare "plausus, vehi per urbem, conspici velle, quibus "ex rebus nihil est quod solidum tenere; nihil "quod referre ad voluptatem corporis possis."

Cicero, IN L. PISON. C. 25.

Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd; 140
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.
What wise and valiant man would seek to free

139. *Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd*
Of fighting men, and men to beasts expos'd;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.]

The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury; and, speaking of some Scythian nations, he describes them advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themselves in luxury and effeminacy, και πρωτοι επι ΤΟ ΤΡΥΦΑΝ ορμησαντες εις τουτο προηλθον υβρεως ωστε παντων των ανθρωπων εις ους αφικοντο ηκροτηριαζον τας ρινας. p. 525. Ed. Casaub.—The Ionians are described by the same author as "devoid of philanthropy, chearfulness, "and even natural affection, and shewing upon all "occasions a disposition of the most unfeeling "kind;" and at the same time he notices "their "habits of luxury and effeminacy," τα Ιωνων ηθη τρυφερωτερα. p. 625.—Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having spoken of Vitellius as "ventre et gula sibi ipsi "hostis," he adds, "Otho, LUXU, SÆVITIA, "audaciâ, reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur." HIST. ii. 31.———The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a subject of complaint and censure to all their moralists and historians. "Miramur," says Columella, "gestus effœmina-"torum, quod a naturâ sexum viris denegatum "muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiantque oculos "spectantium." L. i.—Nero assumed the dress and behaviour of a woman, and was actually several times married, with much ostentation of the nuptial rites, to several of his minions. Elagabalus imitated his example in this, and in other disgraceful instances. Milton probably alluded to some of these circumstances in the Roman history.

140. *Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd,*]

The *fighting beasts* are a poor instance of the Roman cruelty in their sports, in comparison of the gladiators; who might have been introduced so naturally and easily here, only by putting the word *gladiators* in place of the other two, that one may very well be surprised at the poet's omitting them. See Seneca's viith Epistle. *Calton.*

Beast-fights were exhibited among the Romans with great variety. Sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even sea-monsters were introduced for the purpose of combating with wild beasts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, ECL. vii. 64.

Nec nobis tantum sylvestria cernere monstra
Contigit, ÆQUOREOS EGO CUM CERTANTIBUS URSIS
SPECTAVI VITULOS.

The men that fought with wild beasts were called *bestiarii*. These were principally condemned persons; although there were some who hired themselves like gladiators.

141. *Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,*]

LUXURIAMQUE LUCRIS emimus, LUXUQUE RAPINAS.
MANIL. iv. 10.

143. *What wise and valiant man would seek to free*
These, thus degenerate, by themselves inslav'd?
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?]

The following citation, from a truly philosophical work, may be no improper comment on this passage of Milton. "Were a nation given to be moulded "by a sovereign, as clay is put into the hands of "the potter, this project of bestowing liberty on "a people who are actually servile, is perhaps of "all others the most difficult, and requires most "to be executed in silence, and with the deepest "reserve.

These, thus degenerate, by themselves inslav'd?
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?
Know therefore, when my season comes to sit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth;
Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash
All monarchies besides throughout the world;
And of my kingdom there shall be no end:
Means there shall be to this; but what the means,
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

" reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing, " only in proportion as they are made to apprehend " their own rights, and are made to respect the " just pretensions of mankind; in proportion as " they are willing to sustain in their own persons " the burthen of government and of national de- " fence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal " mind to the enjoyments of sloth, and the delusive " hopes of a safety purchased by submission and " fear."—Ferguson ON CIVIL SOCIETY, P. 6. S. 5.

145. *Or could of inward slaves make outward free?*]

This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully, and expresses more diffusively, in his PARADISE LOST, xii. 90.

—— therefore since he permits
Within himself unworthy pow'rs to reign
Over free reason, God in judgment just
Subjects him from without to violent lords; &c.

So also again, in his xiith Sonnet,

Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
FOR WHO LOVES THAT, MUST FIRST BE WISE AND GOOD.

No one had ever more refined notions of true liberty than Milton, and I have often thought that there never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he, with a head so clear, and a heart, I really believe, perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant, and professed trampler upon the liberties of his country, as Cromwell was. *Thyer.*

146. *Know therefore, when my season comes to sit*
On David's throne, &c.—]

A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes to sit on David's throne, that throne *shall be like a tree* &c. alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into *a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof*, (Mat. xiii. 32.); and to, (what that parable also respects,) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great *tree whose heighth reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth*, (Dan. iv. 11.) Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt. *Or as a stone* &c.; alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom *shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.* (Dan. ii. 44.) *And of my kingdom there shall be no end:* the very words of Luke, i. 33. with the only necessary change of the person; *and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* *Newton.*

To

To whom the Tempter impudent reply'd.
I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st:
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict:
On the other side know also thou, that I
On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for naught;
All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,

162. *All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,*
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give;
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superior lord, &c.]

And the devil, taking him up into a high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, all this power will I give unto thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and unto whomsoever I will, I give it.

If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine. Luke, iv. 5, 6, 7.

166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,*
And worship me, as thy superior lord,]

In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation,) there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure, as the awkward and preposterous introduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in scripture; but after his gifts had been absolutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose *the impious condition?* Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon *the abominable terms* of falling down and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all? Well might the author say that Satan *impudent replied;* but that doth not solve the objection. *Newton.*

I differ entirely from Bp. Newton and his very able coadjutor, respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive this passage to be a striking instance of his great judgment in arranging his work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it.—The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible, and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is described desperate of success, and "flung from his hope;" but still he proceeds.

Upon

And worship me as thy superior lord,
(Easily done,) and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?
WHOM thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition:
But I indure the time, till which expir'd
Thou hast permission on me. It is written,
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee accurs'd? now more accurs'd
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,

Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his desperation rises to such a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with the most intemperate indiscretion, those *abominable terms*, which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord. This then is the αναγνωρισις, or full discovery who Satan really was; for it must be observed, that though Jesus in the FIRST Book (Ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the Tempter through his disguise, still the Temptation proceeds in the same manner as if he had not known him: at least our Lord's conduct is not represented as influenced by any suspicion of an insidious adversary.—As to *proposing the condition together with the gifts*; this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem, as by pushing the question immediately to a point, it must have precluded the gradually progressive temptations which the poet so finely brings forward.——It might perhaps have been wished that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and desperation, had been kept back till the subsequent temptation, in the highly-finished description of Athens with all its pride of learning and philosophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But the apologetic speech of Satan (Ver. 196.), in which he recovers himself from his intemperate impetuosity, and repairs the indiscretion of his present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with such singular art and address as is truly admirable, but it likewise gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem; which I cannot wish to have been in any respect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could have improved it.

And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
If given, by whom but by the king of kings,
God over all supreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
As offer them to me, the son of God?
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.
To whom the Fiend, with fear abash'd, reply'd.
Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though sons of God both Angels are and Men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
What both from Men and Angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,

185. ——— *the king of kings,*
God over all supreme?—]

—— *who is the blessed and only potentate,* THE KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS. 1 Tim. vi. 15.

—— *who is* OVER ALL, *God blessed for ever.* Romans, ix. 5.

188. ——— *But gratitude in thee is lost*
Long since.—]

Milton had made Satan declare "long" before,

——— all good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my good! ———
PARADISE LOST, iv. 109.

199. ——————— *have propos'd*
What both from Men and Angels I receive, &c.]

The terms of worship and vassalage. See Ver. 166. *supra.*

201. *Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,*]

The

Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invok'd, and world beneath:
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns;
The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
Rather more honor left and more esteem;
Me naught advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.

The arch-fiend here means to prove the extent of his dominion, and his pretensions to the name and power of a God, from the homage paid him by Demons of every supposed order and description;

—— those Demons that are found,
In FIRE, AIR, FLOOD, or UNDER GROUND,——
PENSEROSO. 93.

It is, says Mr. Warton, one of the visions of Thomas Aquinas, that God permitted some of the fallen angels, less guilty than the rest, in their descent or precipitation from heaven, to remain in the air, fire, water, and earth, till the day of Judgment. Drayton, speaking of evil spirits, has the same doctrine;

Some EARTHLY mixtures take, as others which aspire,
Them subtler shapes resume, of WATER, AIR, and FIRE;
Being those immortals long before the heaven, that fell,
Whose deprivation thence determined their hell.

The Spirits in Tasso, which the Necromancer summons to take possession of the enchanted forest, are invoked as fallen angels, who controul the different elements which they inhabit;

Udite, udite o voi che da le stelle
Precipitar giù i folgori tonanti;
Si voi che le tempeste e le procelle
Movete, habitator de l'aria erranti, &c.——
GIER. LIB. C. xiii. 7.

Hear, hear, you Spirits all that whilom fell,
Cast down from Heaven with dint of roaring thunder;
Hear you, amid the empty air that dwell,
And storms and showers pour on these kingdoms under;
Fairfax.

And in the FIRST part of Shakespeare's HEN. VI. Joan la Pucelle summons her Spirits, or Demons, and addresses them by the titles of

—— familiar Spirits, that are call'd
Out of the powerful regions UNDER EARTH,

and of

—— speedy helpers, that are SUBSTITUTES
Under the lordly MONARCH OF THE NORTH,

i. e. under Satan himself.—See Mr. Warton's long, but very curious, note, already referred to, on the PENSEROSO.

203. *God of this world invok'd*—]

Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his Paradise Lost, of the Gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the heathens of worshipping devils for deities. *Thyer.*

The devil, in scripture, is termed *the God of this world.* 2 Cor. iv. 4.

And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
Than to a worldly crown; addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute,
As by that early action may be judg'd,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the temple, there wast found
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,
Teaching, not taught. The childhood shews the man,
As morning shews the day: be famous then
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law,

219. ——————— *fitting Moses' chair,*]

Moses' chair was the chair in which the doctors sitting expounded the law either publicly to the people, or privately to their disciples. *The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses chair,* επι της Μωσεως καθεδρας. Mat. xxxiii. 2. *Newton.*

213. ——————— *addicted more*
To contemplation—]

Milton, PARADISE LOST, iv. 297., describes Adam in his state of innocence "for CONTEMPLATION form'd."

220. ——————— *The childhood shews the man,*
As morning shews the day.—]

Thus Ben Jonson, in his VERSES TO SUSAN COUNTESS OF MONTGOMERY;

Were they that nam'd you prophets? DID THEY SEE
EV'N IN THE DEW OF GRACE, WHAT YOU WOULD BE?

221. *As morning shews the day:*—]

Alluding to St. Matthew, xvi. 3.—*And in the morning, it will be foul weather to-day; for the sky is red.*

221. ——————— *Be famous then*
By wisdom;—]

We are now come to the last temptation properly so called; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council, ii. 225.

Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy; with such as have more shew
Of worth, of honor, glory, and popular praise.

The gradation also in the several allurements proposed is very fine; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality comprized in so short a compass. Never were the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive colours, nor were they ever answered with more solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning.

Thyer.

The

The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by nature's light,
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st;
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,

230. *Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st.*]

Alluding to those charming lines, i. 221.

Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear.
Newton.

234. —— *idolisms,*—]

Idolisms is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication. It seems not so much to mean the idolatrous worship of the Gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it. Our Author has also *idolists*, SAMS. AGON. 453.

——— and op'd the mouths
Of IDOLISTS and atheists;———

234. ———— *traditions,*—]

By *traditions*, we may understand opinions collected from those philosophers who instructed publickly, without committing any of their precepts to writing; which was the case with Pythagoras, Numa, and Lycurgus. *See* the lives of the two latter by Plutarch.

234. ———————— *paradoxes?*]

Alluding to the paradoxes of the Stoic philosophers, then in high repute.

235. *Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.*]

Evinc'd is here used in its Latin signification of *subdued* or *conquered*; in which sense it is more forcible and appropriate, than, as it is more commonly used by us to *shew*, or *prove*.

236. ———————— *this specular mount,*]

Thus in the PARADISE LOST, xii. 588. when the Angel had finished what he had to shew, and to relate to Adam, he says,

Let us descend now therefore from THIS TOP
OF SPECULATION;———

Specula and *speculator* are used in this sense by the Latin poets.

Præceps aerii SPECULA de MONTIS in undas
Deferar.——
Virg. ECLOG. viii. 59.

——— SPECULA sublimis ab ALTA
Non Romana minus servat, quam Punica castra.
Sil. Ital. vii. 521.

Celsa Diœarchi SPECULATRIX villa profundi.
Stat. 2 SYLV. ii. 3.

Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold;
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;

237. *Westward, much nearer by southwest,—*]

This might be understood W. by S. that is, one point from west towards southwest; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates.——Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (See Ver. 25. of this Book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more toward the southwest, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree northwest, of Mount Niphates.

238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,*]

The following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favorable occasion, and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the Paradise Lost. *Thyer.*

I cannot persuade myself that our author, when he selected his subject, and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways *cramped down* by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable descriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the *argumentative cast* of part of his poem would give to that which is purely *descriptive*.

239. *Built nobly,—*]

Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it *a well-built city*;

Οι δ' αρ' Αθηνας ειχον ευκτιμενον πτολιεθρον.

Il. ii. 546.

Newton.

239. —— *pure the air, and light the soil;*]

Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light, and the air sharp and pure; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits.——την ευκρασιαν των ωρων εν αυτῳ κατιδωσα, ὁτι φρονιμωτατους ανδρας οισει. Plato in Timæo. p. 24. Vol. 3. Ed. Serr. ——"Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam "putantur Attici."—Cicero, De Fato, 4.

Newton.

Pure the air, and light the soil, Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chrysostom. Orat. 7. where, speaking of Attica, he says, ειναι γαρ την χωραν αραιαν, και τον αερα κουφον, esse enim regionem tenui solo, ac levem aera. Athens, he observes, was built between two small rivers, Cephisus and Ilissus; whence it is called by Euripides, in his Medea,

—— ιερων ποταμων
Η πολις,——

851.

For its holy streams renown'd.

Wodhull.

The effect of the waters upon the air, he adds, is poetically represented in the same chorus;

Καλλιναῳ τ' επι Κηφισῳ ροαις
Ταν Κυπριν κληιζουσιν αφυ-
σαμεναν χωραν καταπνευσαι
Μετριας αυρας
Ηδυπνους αυρας.

840.

From Cephisus' amber tide,
At the Cyprian queen's command,
As sing the Muses, are supplied,
To refresh the thirsty land,
Fragrant gales of temperate air.

Wodhull.

The strophe of that chorus, from the antistrophe of which the passage just cited by Mr. Calton is given, may also be adduced to shew the proverbial pureness and clearness of the air of Attica. The chorus addresses the Athenians;

Ερεχθειδαι

Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits 240

Ερεχθειδαι το παλαιον ολβιοι,
Και θεων παιδες μακαρων,
Ιερας χωρας απορθητυ
Τ' αποφερβομενοι
Κλεινοταταν σοφιαν,
Αιει δια λαμπροτατυ
Βαινοντες αβρως αιθερος,——

829.

Heroes of Erectheus' race,
To the gods who owe your birth
And in a long succession trace
Your sacred origin from earth,
Who on wisdom's fruit regale,
Purest breezes still inhale,
And behold skies ever bright!—

Wodhull.

240. *Athens the eye of Greece,*—]

Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens *the eye of Greece*, οφθαλμος Ελλαδος; but I cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the two *eyes* of Greece, Sparta being the other, (L. v. C. 8.); and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the *eye* of islands;

Peninsularum Sirmio, insularumque
OCELLE,———

But the metaphor is more properly applied to Athens than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning. *Newton.*

I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Bp. Newton. Thysius, in a note on Justin, (L. ii. C. 6. *Ed. Varior.*,) and on a passage of Valerius Maximus, (*Ed. Varior.* L. i. C. 6. *Exempl. Extern.* 1.), notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece:* but no reference is made to the particular passage.—Cicero, in his Oration PRO LEGE MANILIA, C. v. calls Corinth "totius "GRÆCIÆ LUMEN," upon which Hotoman observes, "alludens opinor ad Leptinis dictum, qui "Corinthum alterum Græciæ oculum, Athenas "alterum appellavit."——Aristotle, speaking of metaphors, (RHETORIC. L. iii. C. x. S. 3.) cites the passage here alluded to, from a speech of Leptines, in which he conjures the Athenians "that they would not suffer Greece to become "ετεροφθαλμος, *deprived of one of her eyes*, by the "extinction of Sparta." It was not therefore Corinth, but Sparta, to which the orator alluded, as being, next to Athens, the ornament of Greece. The speech must have been spoken on the debate, whether Athens should assist Sparta, when in danger of being over-powered by the Theban league.—— The Greek poets frequently used οφθαλμος, in a metaphorical sense, for the lustre of superior excellence. The Sun is called, by Aristophanes, the *eye of Heaven*, ΑΙΘΕΡΟΣ ΟΜΜΑ, NUB. 284. And in a fragment of Sappho, in Achilles Tatius, (DE LEUCIP. ET CLITOPH. L. ii.) that poetess describes the rose as the *eye*, or paragon, *of flowers*; —Γης εστι κοσμος, φυτων αγλαισμα, ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ ΑΝΘΕΩΝ—— Pindar in his SECOND Olympic Ode, which celebrates the victory of Theron, king of Agrigentum, in the chariot race, speaking of Theron's ancestors who underwent many difficulties before they could build that city, and settle themselves in it, terms them *the eye of Sicily*, Σικελιας οφθαλμος.

Καμοντες οι πολλα θυμῳ,
Ιερον εσχον οικημα
Ποταμῳ, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΣ Τ' ΕΣΑΝ
ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ.

A race, long exercis'd in woes,
Ere, smiling o'er her kindred flood,
The mansion of their wish'd repose,
Their sacred city stood;
And through amaz'd Sicilia shone,
The lustre of their fair renown.

West.

Thus also Cicero, IN CATILIN. iii. C. x.;—— "Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario. Tum vero, "clarissimis viris interfectis, LUMINA CIVITATIS "EXTINCTA SUNT."—And Velleius Paterculus, speaking of the defeat of Pompey by Julius Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia, mentions "tantum utrius- "que exercitus profusum sanguinis, et conlisa inter "se

Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.

" se duo reipublicæ capita, effossumque ALTERUM
" ROMANI IMPERII LUMEN."

Ben Jonson, in one of his poems, terms Edinburgh

The heart of Scotland, BRITAIN'S OTHER EYE.

Giles Fletcher, in the dedication of his poems to Dr. Neville, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, having, in the metaphorical style of his time, (which prevailed in prose as much as in verse,) called Europe " the Queen of the World," and England " the very face and beauty of Europe," adds; " And what are THE TWO EYES OF THIS LAND, but the two Universities? — — — And truly I should forget myself, if I should not call Cambridge THE RIGHT EYE.

240. ———— *mother of arts*
And eloquence,—]

Justin, (L. v. C. 9.) terms Athens " PATRIA " COMMUNIS ELOQUENTIÆ."——And (L. ii. C. 6.) he says, " LITERÆ CERTE ET FACUNDIA " VELUTI TEMPLUM ATHENAS habent."——— Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated seat of learning and eloquence. He describes it " illas OMNIUM DOCTRINARUM INVENTRICES " Athenas, in quibus SUMMA DICENDI VIS ET " INVENTA EST, ET PERFECTA."—DE ORATOR. L. i. 13. *Ed. Proust.*——And in his BRUTUS, Sect. 39. he characterises it " ea urbs, in qua et " NATA, et alta, sit ELOQUENTIA."—And, IBID. Sect. 26, he says, " Testis est Græcia, quæ cum " eloquentiæ studio sit incensa, jamdiuque excellat " in eâ, præstetque cæteris, tamen omnes artes ve- " tustiores habet et multo ante non inventas solum, " sed etiam perfectas, quam hæc est a Græcis ela- " borata dicendi vis atque copia. In quam cum in- " tueor maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, et LUCENT " QUASI ATHENÆ TUÆ; QUA IN URBE PRIMUM " ORATOR SE EXTULIT."—And again, Sect. 49. speaking of eloquence; " Hoc studium non erat " commune Græciæ, sed PROPRIUM ATHENA- " RUM." To which may be added a more general testimony of the same great orator in favour of Athens, as the Mother of the Arts, and the distinguishing ornament of Greece. " Adsunt Athe- " nienses, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, " jura, leges ortæ, atque in omnes terras distributæ " putantur: de quorum urbis possessione, propter " pulchritudinem etiam inter Deos certamen fuisse " proditum est: * * * * auctoritate autem " tanta est, ut jam fractum prope ac debilitatum " Græciæ nomen hujus urbis laude nitatur." Orat. PRO L. FLACC. 26.———Isocrates also, in his PANEGYRIC, describes Athens as first " inventing " those arts which are most necessary to the com- " fort of life, and afterwards thereon imagining " those which conduce to the refined pleasures."— και μεν δη και των τεχνων, τας δε προς τα αναγκαια τω βιω χρησιμας, και τας προς ηδονην μεμαχανημενας, τας μεν ευρουσα, τας δε δοκιμασασα.

242. — *hospitable,*—]

Diodorus describes the Athenians as " hospi- " table to wits" of other countries, by admitting all persons whatever to benefit by the instruction of the learned teachers in their city;—την πατριδα κοινον παιδευτηριον παρεχομενους πασιν ανθρωποις. L. xiii. C. 27.—The Athenians were remarkable for their general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their city was always open, and for whose reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of προξενοι. The Lacedæmonians were at the same time noted for their ξεννλασιαις, or driving all strangers away from their city.—The conduct of the Athenians, as differing in this respect from that of the Lacedemonians, is particularly noticed by Pericles, in the speech which he is recorded by Thucydides to have delivered in commemoration of his countrymen, who had fallen in battle. The orator there takes occasion to display the superiority of the Athenians to the other states then combined against them in the Pelopponnesian war.——την τε γαρ πολιν κοινην παρεχομεν, και ουκ εστιν ότε ξεννλασιαις απειργομεν τινα η μαθηματος, η θεαματος. Thucydid. HIST. ii. C. 39.—" We open our city to " all

See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird 245

" all persons whatever, and never exclude strangers " either from its places of instruction or enter- " tainment."

244. *See there the olive grove &c.*—]

A later Bard has well sketched this Athenian scene;

——— Guide my feet
Through fair Lyceum's walks, the olive shades
Of Academus, and the sacred vale
Haunted by steps divine, where once, beneath
That ever-living platane's ample boughs,
Ilyssus, by Socratic sounds detain'd,
On his neglected urn attentive lay.

Akenside. PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION, i. 715.

244. ——— *the olive grove of Academe,*]

The Academy is always described as a woody, shady, place. Diogenes Laertius calls it προαστιον ΑΛΣΩΔΕΣ; and Horace speaks of the SYLVAS Academi, 2 Epist. ii. 45. But Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, because the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the goddess of the city: he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes, NUB. 1001.

Αλλ' εις Ακαδημιαν κατιων, υπο ταις μοριαις αποθρεξεις.

Sed in Academiam descendens sub sacris olivis spatiaberis.

Newton.

This whole description of the Academe is infinitely charming. Bp. Newton has justly observed that " Plato's Academy was never more beautifully " described." " Cicero," he adds, " who has " laid the scene of one of his dialogues (De Fin. " L. v.) there, and who had been himself on the " spot, has not painted it in more lively colours."

Plutarch, in his treatise DE EXILIO, refers to the three celebrated gymnasia of Athens here noticed by the poet,—the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa, or Portico.—— Επι τους σοφους ελθε, και τας σοφας Αθηνησι σχολας και διατριβας, αναπεμπασαι τας εν Λυκειῳ, τας εν Ακαδημιᾳ, την Στοαν.——And the same author, in his *Life of Sylla*, speaking of the Academy, (the trees of which he says Sylla cut down,) describes it to have been more abounding with trees than any part of the suburbs of Athens,—ΔΕΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΗΝ προαστειων.———Milton, in the conclusion of his SEVENTH ELEGY, transfers the title of *umbrosa Academia* to his own university, Cambridge. Cicero, DE DIVINAT. L. i. C. 13., speaks of those eminent persons,

Otia qui studiis læti tenuere decoris,
Inque ACADEMIA UMBRIFERA, nitidoque Lycæo
Fuderunt claras fœcundi pectoris artes.

It may not be improper here to subjoin some account, not only of the Academy, but also of the other public gardens that were the resort of the learned at Athens. Nor can I better do this than by the following extract from a very able and pleasing work, to which I have already referred in these notes.

' We know that the philosophers at Athens de- ' lighted in the pleasures of a garden, particularly ' Epicurus, who made choice of it for his school ' of philosophy. This, as well as the garden of ' Plato, were situated in the neighbourhood of ' the Academy, and were probably but small. ' ——We do not meet with any accounts con- ' cerning the manner, or taste, in which these were ' arranged.——The scene of Plato's dialogue on ' Beauty is indeed laid in a pleasant spot upon the ' banks of the Ilyssus, and under the shade of the ' plane-tree; the description of which situation, ' however short in Plato, seems to have been ' greatly admired, and to have become so trite, as ' to be commonly imitated in the prefaces to ' philosophical dialogues.———With respect to ' the taste and stile in which the public gardens at ' Athens were laid out, our accounts are rather ' more particular, though far from distinct. We ' are told by Plutarch, that Cimon planted the ' Academic Grove, which was before a rude, un- ' cultivated spot, and conveyed streams of water to ' it, probably for ornament as well as use, and laid

' it

Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound

'it out in shady walks. The trees were partly 'olive; and partly of other kinds, as the platane, 'and the elm. Those in the Lyceum were pro-'bably plane-trees; at least such were planted 'there, as appears from a passage in Theophrastus, 'quoted by Varro, which refers to the height and 'size the trees grew to in that situation. Both 'these were destroyed by Sylla, at the siege of 'Athens, in the war with Mithridates, in order to 'supply warlike engines; and these woods are ex-'pressly said by Plutarch to have been selected on 'account of their extraordinary size. The destruc-'tion however was but partial, as it is spoken of 'as a woody place by Horace, and afterwards 'by Pausanias, whose description of it I shall 'next consider.'

" The approach to the Academic Grove was " adorned with the temples of gods and tombs of " heroes. Of the former were those of Diana and " Bacchus; among the latter those of Thrasybulus " and Pericles, together with many other illustrious " characters, particularly Conon, Timotheus, and " Chabrias. Many of these tombs were adorned " with statues, columns, and military trophies. " At the entrance was an altar dedicated to Love, " with an inscription, importing that it was the " first raised to that deity by any inhabitant of " Athens.—Within the limits of the Grove stood " the altar of Prometheus, a place celebrated for " the festival or ceremony performed at it. Besides " these were the altars of the Muses and Mercury; " and, farther inwards, those of Hercules and " Minerva. Near these was seen a celebrated " olive-tree, reported to have been the second ever " produced in that country. Near the Academy " stood the monument of Plato; and not far from " thence a tower ascribed to Timon, the celebrated " misanthropic character. Near this stood the " hill, rendered illustrious by Sophocles, as being " the scene of his tragedy of Œdipus Coloneus; " whereon were placed the altars of Neptune and " Minerva, ornamented with equestrian figures of " these deities, together with the tombs of the " heroes of the remotest antiquity, as Pirithous, " Theseus, Œdipus, and Adrastus."——Falconer's *Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and Laying-out Grounds among the Nations of Antiquity*, p. 30.

245. *Plato's retirement,*—]

Επανελθων δε εις Αθηνας, διετριβεν εν Ακαδημια, το δ' εστι γυμνασιον, προαστειον αλσωδες, απο τινος ηρωος ονομασθεν Ακαδημυ, καθα και Ευπολις εν Ασρατευτοις φησιν,

Εν ευσκιοις δρομοισιν Ακαδημυ θευ.

——— και εταφη εν τη Ακαδημια, ειθα τον πλειστον χρονον διετελεσε φιλοσοφων, οθεν και Ακαδημαϊκη ποσηγορευθη ἡ απ' αυτυ αἱρεσις. " Being returned to Athens " from his journey to Egypt, he settled himself in " the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise " in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, " taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, " as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus shady walks.

" and he was buried in the Academy, where he " continued most of his time teaching philosophy, " whence the sect which sprung from him was " called Academic." Diogenes Laertius, LIFE OF PLATO. *Newton.*

Milton, in his Poem DE IDEA PLATONICA, terms Plato the *decus* of the Academic grove;

At tu perenne RURIS ACADEMI DECUS, &c.

35.

And Pope, in his first CHORUS for the BRUTUS, thus addresses the groves of Academe.

Ye shades, where sacred truth is sought,
Groves, where immortal sages taught,
Where heavenly visions Plato fir'd, &c.———

245. ——— ——— *where the Attic bird*
Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.—]

Philomela, who according to the fables, was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis; thus Martial, L. i. Ep. 54.

Sic

Of bees' industrious murmur oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls

Sic ubi multisonâ fervet sacer ATTHIDE lucus, &c.
Newton.

The nightingale is with peculiar propriety introduced in this description of the Academe; in the neighbourhood of which, we learn from Pausanias (L. i. C. 30.), lay the place called *Colonus Equestris*, which Sophocles has made the scene of his ŒDIPUS COLONEUS; and which he celebrates as particularly abounding with nightingales. Antigone thus describes it to her blind father, of whom she is the conductor.

Χωρος δ' ὁδ' ἱερος, ως απεικαται, βρυων
Δαφνης, ελαιας, αμπελων· ΠΥΚΝΟΠΤΕΡΟΙ
Δ' εισω κατ' αὐτον ΕΥΣΤΟΜΟΥΣ' ΑΗΔΟΝΕΣ.
17.

This place is sacred, by the laurel shade,
Olive, and vine thick-planted, and the songs
Of nightingales sweet warbling through the grove.
Franklin.

And again, where the chorus welcome Œdipus to Colonus, they celebrate it as distinguished by a greater abundance of nightingales than any other place.

Ενθα λιγεια μινυρεται
ΘΑΜΙΖΟΥΣΑ ΜΑΛΙΣΤ' αηδων.
703.

Where many a love-lorn nightingale
Warbles sweet her plaintive tale.
Franklin.

246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes—*]

Bp. Newton observes that perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a description of the song of that bird, which is not dissimilar;

——— Πανδαρεω κουρη χλωρις αηδων
* * * * * * * * * * *
Ητε θαμα τρωπωζα ΧΕΕΙ ΠΟΛΥΗΧΕΑ ΦΩΝΗΝ.
ODYSS. xix. 521.

246. ——— *the summer long;*]

The nightingale is commonly supposed to sing only in the spring, and not during summer.

Milton describes it singing in the end of April,

While the jolly hours lead on propitious May.
SONNET, TO THE NIGHTINGALE.

Sappho, in a verse preserved by the Scholiast on Sophocles, ELECTR. 148., terms this bird

ΗΡΟΣ Δ' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ιμεροφωνος αηδων.

Sweet Philomel, the messenger of spring.

Pliny says, that the song of the nightingale continues in its greatest perfection only fifteen days, from which time it gradually declines. "Afterwards, as summer advances," he adds, "it loses "all its variety and modulation." *Mox æstu aucto in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varia.* L. x. 29.——It seems therefore extraordinary that our Author should here describe this bird of spring, singing "the summer long."—We might indeed suppose that this protracted song of the nightingale, was an intended compliment to the classic spot, "Plato's retirement;" as the Thracians affirmed that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus sung with uncommon melody, and in a strain far superior to what they did in any other place. Λεγουσι δε οι Θρᾳκες αι των αηδονων εχουσι νοσσιας επι τῳ ταφῳ τῶ Ορφεως, ταυτας ηδιον και μειζον τι ᾳδειν. Pausan. L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various passages in the Paradise Lost, where Milton has introduced this bird, it does not appear that he considered it as singing only in the spring. *The song of the nightingale* is in fact one of his favourite circumstances of description, when he is painting a summer's night.

247. *There flowery hill Hymettus with the sound*
Of bees' industrious murmur oft invites
To studious musing;—]

Valerius Flaccus calls it *Florea juga Hymetti*, Argonaut, V. 344.; and the honey was so much esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the best of the Attic honey, as the Attic honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. Ecl. i. 56.

Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro:

but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more

His whispering stream: within the walls, then view 250
The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred

proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attic learning. *Newton.*

Pausanias describes Hymettus as producing those herbs, which are particularly acceptable to bees. ATTICA. C. 32.

Ovid gives this mountain the epithet of *ever-flowery*,

Vertice de summo SEMPER FLORENTIS HYMETTI,
MET. vii. 701.

Silius Italicus notices the *flowers* and *bees* of Hymettus.

Aut ubi Cecropius, formidine nubis aquosæ,
Sparsa SUPER FLORES EXAMINA tollit HYMETTOS.
L. ii. 217.

249. ——————— *Ilissus*—]

Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this pleasant river.—χαριεστατα γων και καθαρα και διαφανη τα ὑδατια φαινεται. "Nonne hinc aquulæ puræ ac pellucidæ "jocundo murmure confluunt?" Ed. Serr. Vol. iii. p. 229. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented sitting on a green bank, shaded with a spreading platane, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth not to have grown so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence; "quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ de-"scribitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse." De Orat. i. 7. *Newton.*

Pausanias (ATTICA. C. 19.) notices the Ilissus as the principal river of Attica. He supposes it to have been sacred to the Muses; as there stood an altar to the *Ilissian Muses* on its banks. Dionysius calls it a *divine stream*;

——— Αἴτικον ὕδας,
Τῷ δια ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΟΥ φερεται ροος ΙΛΙΣΣΟΙΟ,—
PERIEGES. 413.

where Eustathius ascribes the epithet of divine, and the general celebrity of the stream, to its flowing by a city so eminently distinguished as Athens.—— Ιλισσος ου πολλω αξιος λογω, δια δε τας κλεινας Αθηνας περιλαμπεως, και θεσπεσιος καλημενος.

250. *His whispering stream;*—]

Thus LYCIDAS, 136;

Ye valleys low where the mild WHISPERS use
Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,—

And Virgil, CULEX, 118;

Et jam compellante vagæ pastore capellæ
Ima SUSURRANTIS repetebant AD VADA LYMPHÆ;—

251. ——————— *who bred*
Great Alexander to subdue the world;]

Milton, in his ELEGY to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then Minister of the Church of the English Merchants at Hamburgh, speaks of his affection for his old master as superior to that of Alcibiades to Socrates, or of Alexander for Aristotle.

Charior ille mihi, quam tu, doctissime Graiûm,
Cliniadi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat.
Quamque Stagyrites generoso magnus alumno,
Quem peperit Libyco Chaonis alma Jovi.
EL. iv. 23.

We are told by Cicero that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, (*inanem sermonis elegantiam,*) was thereby induced to add to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence, —"et agendi præcepta, et loquendi." De Orator. iii. 41. Ed. Proust.—The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle upon the birth of his son, is preserved by Aulus Gellius. L. ix. C. 3. Ισθι μοι γεγονοτα υιον. πολλην μεν τοις θεοις χαριν εχω, ουχ ωτως επι τη γενεσει τω παιδος, ὡς επι τω κατα την σην ηλικιαν αυτον γεγονεναι. ελπιζω γαρ, αυτον ὑπο σε τραφεντα και παιδευθεντα, αξιον εσεσθαι και ημων και της των πραγματων διαδοχης.—"Know that I have a son just "born. For this I am truly grateful to the gods; "not merely that I have a son, but that he is born, "in

Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:

" in your time: as I flatter myself, when he shall " have been brought up and educated by you, he " will prove a credit to us, and to his own important " situation."

253. *Lyceum there,*—]

The *Lyceum* was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripatetics, so called, απο τυ περιπατειν, from his *walking*, and teaching philosophy. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles for the exercising of soldiers: and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the Irene, speaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and *returning back into the city*:——εις το Λυκειον εισιοντες——και παλιν εξιοντες εκ τυ Λυκειυ, και παλιν εις την πολιν. *Newton.*

The establishment of the Lyceum has been attributed both to Pisistratus and Pericles. Meursius (ATHENÆ ATTICÆ, L. ii. C. 3.) supposes that it might have been begun by the former, and completed by the latter. Plutarch ascribes it to Pericles, who, he says, made plantations, and built a *Palæstra* there. (*See* Life of Pericles.) The same writer (SYMPOS. viii. Quæst. 4.) says that it was dedicated to Apollo, as the God of healing, and that with propriety, because *health alone can furnish the strength requisite for all corporeal exercises and exertions.*——The name LYCEUM has been variously accounted for. Some writers trace it to an old gymnasium, or temple, originally built there by LYCUS, the son of Pandion. Others, without recurring to Lycus, suppose it to have been dedicated to Apollo, under his title of Λυκοκτονος, or the *wolf-slaying* god; of which epithet, in this sense, various origins are given. But another, and that a more obvious, sense of the word Λυκοκτονος, has not long since been suggested by a gentleman of considerable critical *acumen*, and the greatest literary acquirements. By deriving it from the old Greek word λυκος, or λυκη, *lux*, and εκτεινω *extendo*, the *slayer of wolves* becomes the *extender of light*, a term highly appropriate to the Deity, who, in the heathen mythology, represented the sun.—Macrobius (SATURNAL. i. 17.) accounts in a nearly similar manner for the title of Λυκιος, or *Lycius*, by which Apollo was known: and supposes that the epithet λυκηγενης, which is given him by Homer (IL. iv. 101.), did not signify *born in Lycia*, but *lucem generans*, or the producer of light.——The name *Lyceum*, we may then conceive, was derived from, and the place dedicated to, that great fountain of light and heat which illuminates and invigorates the world and its inhabitants: and in these public walls and schools, under the supposed influence and protection of this great power, the minds and bodies of the young Athenians were with much propriety according to the system of the times, cultivated and exercised.

That the Lyceum stood without the walls, appears from the beginning of Plato's LYSIS, where it is positively described as being *without the walls*; Επορευομην μεν εξ Ακαδημιας, ευθυ Λυκειυ την εξω τειχους, υπ' αυτο το τειχος. Strabo also speaks of some fountains of clear and excellent water without the gates near the Lyceum, εκτος τυ Διοχαρους καλουμενων πυλων, πλησιον τυ Λυκειυ. L. ix. p. 397.

253. ———— *painted Stoa*—]

Stoa was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoics; and this Stoa, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικιλη, or *various*, and here by Milton the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius, in the lives of Aristotle and Zeno. *Newton.*

There were abundance of porticos, or piazzas, at Athens; of which this was the most noted. The paintings of the Stoa were by different masters; of whom the principal was Polygnotus, who contributed his assistance, (as we are particularly told by Plutarch in his life of Cymon,) without any pecuniary recompence, purely from his regard for

There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand; and various-measur'd verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his, who gave them breath, but higher sung,

the city, and a wish to do it honour. The other artists were Mycon, and Panænus, brother to the celebrated sculptor Phidias. The subjects of the paintings were the most renowned of the Athenian victories, such as those of Marathon and Salamis; and other honorable circumstances of their military history. In the ATHENÆ ATTICÆ of Meursius, (L. i. C. 5.) we find the following ancient inscription, which Theodosius Zygomanus had copied from one of the walls of the Stoa, when the writing was so ancient and decayed that it was barely legible; and which is preserved in his Epistle *De Periculis Urbis Constantinopolitanæ*.

Εκ των προ πολλων των λογων την μητερα,
Χρυσας Αθηνας, την περιβλεπτον πολιν,
Στοα τις ηδε ποικιλως κοσμουμενη
Γραφων εκκαλλωπιζεν εξηρημενων
Κεχρωσμενη σωμασιν, εκπληττουσα πως
Τη γιλπνοτητι, Ποικιλη καλουμενη.

Antiquitus matrem inclytam sapientiæ
Aureas Athenas, illustrem urbem,
Porticus quædam, varia ornata,
Picturarum ornabat excellentium
Colorata corporibus, percellens quodammodo
Splendore varia appellata.

Persius terms the *Stoa* "the portico of wisdom;" referring at the same time to the famous picture of the battle of Marathon by Polygnotus.

Quæque docet SAPIENS, BRACCATIS ILLITA MEDIS,
PORTICUS,———

SAT. iii. 53.

255. —— *harmony, in tones and numbers hit*
By voice or hand;—]

And yet such music worthiest were to blaze
The peerless height of her immortal praise,
Whose lustre leads us, and for her most fit,
If my inferior HAND OR VOICE COULD HIT
INIMITABLE SOUNDS,———

ARCADES, 74.

And in the first Book of this Poem, Ver. 171.

——— while THE HAND
Sung WITH THE VOICE,———

256. ——— *and various-measur'd verse,*]

Possibly Milton had here in his mind a passage of Ovid, where that poet characterises Horace as *varied in numbers*, or abounding in a variety of metres;

Et tenuit nostras NUMEROSUS HORATIUS aures,
Dum ferit Ausoniâ carmina culta lyrâ.

TRIST. L. iv. EL. x. 49.

257. *Æolian charms,*—]

Æolia carmina, verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians.

Princeps ÆOLIUM CARMEN ad Italos
Deduxisse modos,———

Hor. L. iii. ODE xxx. 13.

Fingent ÆOLIO CARMINE nobilem,—

IBID. L. iv. ODE iii. 12.

Newton.

Our English word *charm* is derived from *carmen*; as are *inchant*, and *incantation*, from *canto*.

257. ——— *Dorian Lyric odes,*]

Such as those of Pindar; who calls his lyre Δωριαν Φορμιγγα. OLYMP. i. 26, &c. *Newton.*

258. *And his who gave them breath, &c.*—]

Our Author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassean, and Plutarch, have attempted to shew that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. *Newton.*

258. ——— *and higher sung,*]

Thus

Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,
Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own:
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught

Thus in the LYCIDAS, 85;

That STRAIN I heard was OF A HIGHER MOOD:—

Homer is here characterised as not only the first, but also the greatest, of poets. Mr. Pope terms him, "a prince, as well as a father, of poetry."

259. *Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd.*]

Our Author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first Melesigenes,—τιθεται ονομα τῳ παιδι Μελεσιγενεα, απο τυ ποταμυ την επωνυμιαν λαβυσα,—and that afterwards when he was blind and settled at Cuma, he was called *Homer*, quasi ὁ μη ορων, from the term by which the Cumæans distinguished blind persons;—ενταυθεν δε και τυνομα Ὁμηρος επεκρατησε τῳ Μελησιγενει, απο της συμφορης. οἱ γαρ Κυμαιοι τους τυφλους ὁμηρους λεγυσιν. *Newton.*

260. *Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own.*]

Alluding (as Bp. Newton observes,) to a Greek Epigram, in the ANTHOLOGIA; where Phœbus is the speaker;

Ηειδον μεν εγων, εχαρασσε δε Θειος Ὁμηρος.

Which Mr. Fenton has thus happily enlarged.

'Round Phœbus when the nine harmonious maids
Of old assembled in the Thespian shades,
"What themes," they cried, "what high, immortal air,
"Befits these harps to sound, and thee to hear?"
Reply'd the God, "your loftiest notes employ,
"To sing young Peleus, and the fall of Troy."
The wonderous song with rapture they rehearse,
Then ask who wrought that miracle of verse.
He answer'd with a frown: "I now reveal
"A truth, that Envy bids me not conceal.
"Retiring frequent to this laureate vale,
"I warbled to the lyre that favorite tale,
"Which unobserv'd a wandring Greek and blind,
"Heard me repeat, and treasur'd in his mind;
"And, fir'd with thirst of more than mortal praise,
"From me, the God of wit, usurp'd the bays."

I have omitted the application to the English Iliad, in the eight concluding lines; not merely as being beside my purpose, but as I conceive Mr. Fenton to have been more fortunate in his enlargement of the Greek Epigrammatist's thought, than in his application of it to Mr. Pope.

261. ——— *the lofty grave tragedians,*—]

Æschylus is thus characterised by Quinctilian;—"Tragedias primum in lucem Æschylus protulit, "SUBLIMIS et GRAVIS, et grandiloquus, &c." L. x. C. 1.—Where also the same author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides, says, "GRAVITAS, "et COTHURNUS et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse "sublimior."——Tragedy was termed lofty by the ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, describing tragedy as distinguished from comedy;

——— ALTE graditur MAJORE COTHURNO:
DE MALL. THEOD. CONS. 314.

And Ovid, AMOR. L. ii. EL. 18., speaking of himself as having written tragedy, but being seduced from so grave an employment by the charms of his mistress, adds,

Deque COTHURNATO VATE triumphat amor.

Again, TRIST. L. ii. EL. i. 553, he refers to his Medea in similar terms; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *Cothurnus*, or high tragic buskin.

Et dedimus TRAGICIS scriptum regale COTHURNIS:
Quæque GRAVIS DEBET verba COTHURNUS habet.

Horace, in his Ode to C. Asinius Pollio, whose eminence in tragic poetry is also referred to by Virgil in his *eighth* Eclogue, speaks of the *severity*, or *gravity*, of the Tragic Muse, and elevates her on the Cecropian, or Athenian, buskin.

Paulum SEVERÆ Musa TRAGÆDIÆ
Desit Theatris; mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,——

Milton,

In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd

Milton, in his brief discourse on tragedy, prefixed to his SAMSON AGONISTES, says, "Tragedy, "as it was antiently composed, hath ever been held "the GRAVEST, moralest, and most profitable of all "other poems, &c."

And Ovid had said,

Omne genus scripti GRAVITATE Tragœdia vincit;
TRIST. L. ii. EL. 1. 381.

262. —— *Chorus or Iambic,*—]

The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambic measure, and the chorus, which consisted of various measures.—The character here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very just and noble; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's SAMSON AGONISTES. *Newton.*

The *chorus* was the regular place for the moral sentences in the Greek tragedy; although they are frequently introduced by Euripides into the *Iambic*, or dialogue part.

262. ———————— *teachers best*
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
In brief sententious precepts,—]

This description particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author.——Euripides is described by Quinctilian, "SENTENTIIS DENSUS, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus "tradita sunt, pœne ipsis par." L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing some verses from the HECUBA of Euripides, terms them "verbis SEN-"TENTIA, BREVITATE insignes illustresque."—— Aristotle, where he treats of sentences (Rhetoric. L. ii. C. 22.), takes almost all his examples from Euripides.

The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragic poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are thus admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer. 'In the virtuous simplicity of less polished 'times, this spirit of moralizing is very prevalent; 'the good sense of such people always delighting to 'shew itself in sententious or proverbial γνωμαι, or 'observations. Their character, like that of the 'Clown in Shakespeare, is *to be very swift and sen-'tentious.* (AS YOU LIKE IT, Act V. Sc. 1.) This 'is obvious to common experience, and was long 'since observed by the *philosopher*, οἱ αγροικοι μα-'λιστα γνωμοτυποι εισι, και ραδιως αποφαινονται, (Arist. 'RHET. L. ii. C. 21.) an observation which of itself accounts for the practice of the elder poets in 'Greece, as in all other nations. A custom, thus introduced, is not easily laid aside, especially when 'the oracular cast of these sentences, so fitted to 'strike, and the moral views of writers themselves, '(which was more particularly true of the old dramatists,) concurred to favour the taste. But there 'was added to this, more especially in the age of 'Sophocles and Euripides, a general prevailing 'fondness for moral wisdom, which seems to have 'made the fashionable study of men of all ranks in 'those days; when schools of philosophy were resorted to for recreation as well as instruction, and 'a knowledge in morals was the supreme accomplishment in vogue. The fruit of these philosophical conferences would naturally shew itself 'in certain brief sententious conclusions, which 'would neither contradict the fashion, nor, it 'seems, offend against the ease and gaiety of conversation in those times. *Schools* and *pedantry*, '*morals* and *austerity*, were not so essentially connected in their combinations of ideas, as they have 'been since; and a sensible moral truth might have 'fallen from any mouth, without disgracing it. 'Nay, which is very remarkable, the very *scholia*, 'as they were called, or drinking catches of the 'Greeks, were seasoned with this moral turn; the 'sallies of pleasantry, which escaped them in their 'freest hours, being tempered, for the most part, by 'some strokes of this national sobriety.' "During "the course of their entertainment," says Athenæus, (L. xv. C. 14.,) "they loved to hear, from "some wise and prudent person, an agreeable "song:

In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions, and high passions best describing:
Thence to the famous orators repair,

" song: and those songs were held by them most " agreeable, which contained exhortations to virtue, " or other instructions relative to their conduct in " life." — Bp. Hurd's note on Horace's Art of Poetry, Ver. 219.

264. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life;*]

The arguments most frequently selected by the Greek tragic writers, (and indeed by their epic poets also,) were the accomplishment of some oracle, or some supposed decree of *fate*.

——— Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη.
Il. i. 5.

But the incidents or intermediate circumstances which led to the destined event, according to their system, depended on fortune, or *chance*. *Fate* and *chance* then furnished the subject and incidents of their dramas; while the catastrophe produced the *peripetia*, or change of fortune.——The history of Œdipus, one of their principal dramatic subjects, was here perhaps in our Author's mind. The *fate* of Œdipus was foretold before his birth; the wonderful incidents, that, in spite of every guarded precaution, led to the accomplishment of it, depended apparently on *chance*; the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, produced by the discovery of the oracle being so completely fulfilled, is truly affecting.—— *Change in human life* might here perhaps not merely refer to the pathetic catastrophes of the Greek tragedy, as it sometimes formed the entire argument of their pieces; of which the Œdipus Colonæus is an instance.

266 *High actions, and high passions, best describing:*]

High actions refer to *fate* and *chance*, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; high passions to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the παθος, or affecting part. *High actions* are the καλαι πραξεις of Aristotle, who, speaking of the tragic poets as distinguished from the writers of comedy, says, οι μεν σεμνοτεροι ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ εμιμουντο ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ.

Milton, whose predilection for dramatic poetry has been already noticed, (Note on Book i. 169.), introduces the principal subjects of ancient tragedy in his Penseroso, Ver. 97.;

Sometimes let gorgeous tragedy
In sceptr'd pall come sweeping by,
Presenting Thebes or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine,
Or what, though rare, of later age,
Ennobled hath the buskin'd stage.
97.

And again in his *first* Elegy;

Seu mæret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,
Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.
45.

Mr. Warton, in his note on the 31st verse of this Elegy, censures our Author, whom he considers as describing a London theatre, for introducing characters of the Latin and Greek drama.—But I rather suppose that his theatre, in this place, was his own closet; where, when fatigued with other studies, he relaxed with his favourite dramatic poets.—The " *sinuosi pompa theatri*," and afterwards, " *Et dolet, et specto*" were merely the creations and ideal decorations of his own vivid imagination, with the work of some favourite dramatic poet before him.—He had before said,

Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.

And he immediately adds to the supposed description of a theatre, and its exhibitions,

Sed neque sub tecto semper, nec in urbe, latemus;

where *sub tecto* and *latemus* seem to imply that all this passed in his father's private house.

267. *Thence to the famous orators repair, &c.*—]

How happily does Milton's versification in this, and the following lines, concerning the Socratic philosophy, express what he is describing! In the first

Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:
To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,
From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house

first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates. *Thyer.*

268. *Those ancient,—*]

Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times, to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero, DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS. And, in the judgment of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weakened eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: "is "primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus "est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator." De Instit. Orat. x. 1. *Newton.*

268. ——— *whose resistless eloquence*
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece,]

Alluding, as Bp. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to a celebrated passage in the ACHARNENSES of Aristophanes, where the old comic poet, with much malignity towards Athens and Pericles, thus accounts for the origin of the Peloponnesian war.

Πορνην δε Σιμαιθαν ιοντες Μεγαραδε
Νεανιαι κλεπſαισι μεθυσοκοτταβοι·
Κᾆθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς οδυναις πεφυσιγγωμενοι
Αντεξεκλεψαν Ασπασιας πορνα δυο·
Καντευθεν αρχη τῦ πολεμυ κατερραγη
Ἑλλησι πᾶσιν εκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.
Εντεῦθεν οργῆ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΗΣ ΟΥΔΥΜΠΙΟΣ
ΗΣΤΡΑΠΤΕΝ, ΕΒΡΟΝΤΑ, ΞΥΝΕΚΥΚΑ ΤΗΝ
ΕΛΛΑΔΑ.

523.

Some youths of Athens in a drunken frolic
Going to Megara bore off from thence
The whore Simæthe. The Megarian youths,
To make reprisals, seiz'd and carried off
Two wantons of the fam'd Aspasia's train.
Hence, on account of three vile prostitutes,
This fatal war among the Greeks broke forth;
Hence Pericles enrag'd, like Jove himself,
Ev'n with the thunder's roar, the light'ning's blaze,
Burst forth to vengeance, and convuls'd all Greece.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this description of *the resistless eloquence* of Pericles, see Kuster's note on the passage, in his edition of Aristophanes; where however he has overlooked Quinctilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10.—Cicero, (EPIST. AD ATTIC. XV. 1. and ORATOR. Sect. 234. Ed. Proust,) speaks of the "FULMINA Demosthenis." The younger Pliny thus describes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus; "Adsunt aptæ, crebræque sententiæ, "gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et "antiqua. Omnia hæc mire placent. Cum impetu "quodam et FULMINE prævehuntur:"—And, in the xith ÆNEID, Virgil makes Turnus, in his speech to Drances, say

Proinde TONA ELOQUIO; solitum tibi——

383.

271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:*]

As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes throne* against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* against king Philip, in his Orations, therefore denominated Philippics. *Newton.*

273. *From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house*
Of Socrates;—]

Mr.

Of Socrates; see there his tenement,
Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth

Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, Sat. xi. 27.

——— e cœlo descendit γνωθι σεαυτον.

as this famous Delphic precept was the foundation of Socrates's philosophy, and so much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or, as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of Socrates, "Socrates autem primus philosophiam de-"vocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collacavit, et in "domus etiam introduxit." Tusc. Disp. V. 4. But he has given a very different sense to the words either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton observes. It is properly called *the low-roof'd house*; for I believe, said Socrates, that if I could meet with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my goods, and house and all, five pounds. Εγο μεν οιμαν (εφη ὁ Σωκρατης) ει αγαθω ωνητω επιτυχοιμι, εὑρειν αν μοι συν τη οικια και τα ονια παυλα πανυ ῥαδιως πεντε μνας. Xenophon Oeconomic. Five minæ, or Attic pounds, were better than sixteen pounds of our money, a *mina*, according to Barnard, being three pounds eight shillings and nine pence. *Newton.*

In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, (Ver. 92.) where Strepsiades points out the habitation of Socrates to his son, he uses the diminutive οικιδιον, *ædicula*, small house, or *tenement*.

275. *Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd*
Wisest of men;—]

The verse, delivered down to us upon this occasion, is this;

Ανδρων απαντων Σωκρατης σοφωτατος.

Of all men Socrates is the wisest.

Newton.

276. ——— *from whose mouth issu'd forth*
Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
Of Academics &c. &c.—]

Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *fons philosophorum*. L. i. C. 10. As the ancients looked upon Homer to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. Thus Cicero, (ACADEMIC. L. i. C. 4.;) "Socrates mihi videtur, "id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus oc-"cultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes "ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse "philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; "&c." and, speaking of the Academic and Peripatetic schools, he says,—"idem FONS erat utrius-"que."———The different sects of philosophers were indeed so many different families, which all acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. Cicero, speaking of him, (TUSC. DISP. L. v. C. 4.,) says——"cujus multiplex ratio disputandi, rerum-"que varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis me-"moria et literis consecrata, plura genera effecit "dissentientium philosophorum."—— And, (DE ORATOR. L. iii. C. 16.)—"Nam cum essent plures "orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis, et di-"versis, et in omnem partem diffusis disputatio-"nibus alius aliud apprehenderat; proseminatæ sunt "quasi familiæ dissentientes inter se, et multum "disjunctæ et dispares, cum tamen omnes se phi-"losophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et esse arbitra-"rentur." *Newton.*

The ancients in general, and Cicero in particular, considered Socrates as the *fountain-head*, or inventor of moral philosophy."—Thus, (BRUTUS, Sect. 31. Ed. Proust.) "Iis opposuit sese Socrates; qui sub-"tilitate quadam disputandi refellere eorum insti-"tuta solebat verbis. HUJUS EX UBERRIMIS SER-"MONIBUS EXSTITERUNT DOCTISSIMI VIRI: "primumque tum philosophia, non illa de natura, "quæ fuerat antiquior, sed in hac, in qua de bonis "rebus et malis, deque hominum vitâ et moribus "disputatur, INVENTA dicitur."—— And, (DE ORATOR. i. 42.) "Urgerent præterea philoso-"phorum greges, jam ab ILLO FONTE ET CAPITE "Socrate, nihil te de bonis rebus in vita, nihil de "malis, nihil de animi permotionibus, nihil de

Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those
Surnam'd Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe;
These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.

" hominum moribus, nihil de ratione vitæ didi-
" cisse."——He also terms Socrates, (DE NAT. DEOR. i. 34.,) " PARENTEM philosophiæ."——Paterculus, (L. i. C. 16.,) speaks of "Philosophorum " ingenia SOCRATICO ORE DEFLUENTIA."——And Minucius Felix, (*Octav.* C. 13.,) having described Socrates as " sapientiæ principem," adds " HOC FONTE DEFLUXIT Arcesilæ, et multo post " Carneadis et Academicorum plurimorum in sum-" mis quæstionibus tuta dubitatio;"—Milton, in the conclusion of his viith ELEGY, uses the *Socratic streams* to signify philosophy in general;

Donec SOCRATICOS umbrosa Academia RIVOS
Præbuit,———

But our author, in speaking here of *the mellifluous streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of Socrates, and watered all the various schools, or sects, of philosophers*, had in his mind a passage of Ælian, (VAR. HIST. L. xiii. C. 22.,) where it is said that " Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, " and the other poets drawing water from his " mouth."—Γαλατων δε ὁ ζωγραφος εγραψε τον μεν Ομηρον αυτων εμβεντα, τῆς δε αλλης ποιητας τα εμπιεσμενα αφυομενης. Whence also Manilius, speaking of Homer;

——— cujusque EX ORE profusos
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
Amnemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos
Unius fæcunda bonis.
L. ii. 8.

And Ovid, 3. AMOR. ix. 25;

Adjice Mæonidem, A QUO, CEU FONTE PERENNI,
VATUM PIERIIS ORA RIGANTUR AQUIS.

278. *Of Academics old and new,—*]

The Academic sect of philosophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, *old*, *middle*, and *new*. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arcesilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new.

279. —— *Peripatetics,—*]

The Peripatetics were so called, from the Περιπατον, or walk of the Lyceum, where Aristotle and his successors taught; in the same manner as the Stoics had their name from the Στοα, or Portico, where they attended the instructions of their master, Zeno. " The common opinion" says Dr. Gillies, " that the Peripatetics were so called, εκ τῦ Περι-" πατειν, *ex deambulatione*, as adopted by Cicero " and others, is refuted by the authors cited by " Brucker, Vol. I. p. 787."

280. ——— *Stoic severe;*]

Seneca says that the sect of Stoics were commonly censured " tanquam nimis dura." DE CLEMENT. ii. 5.—And Cicero, (PRO MURENA, C. 35.,) " At enim agit mecum AUSTERE ET STOICE Cato."

283. *These rules—*]

There is no mention before of rules; but of poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read therefore,

THEIR rules will render thee a king complete, &c.
Calton.

283. ——— *a king complete*
Within thyself,—]

This refers to what our Saviour had said before, BOOK ii. 446, respecting the true dignity, or *kingship*, of self-command;

Yet

To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd. 285
Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought: he, who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true; 290
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
The first and wisest of them all profess'd

Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king.

285. *To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd.*]

This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected stile, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an over-match for falsehood, though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours. *Thyer.*

288. ——————— *he who receives*
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;]

It had been supposed from Milton's acquaintance with Ellwood, and with Mrs. Thomson, (to the memory of whom, under the title of his *Christian Friend*, he has inscribed a Sonnet,) that he was a Quaker. Mr. Warton observes that this passage of the Paradise Regained seems to favor the notion of Milton's Quakerism. But this passage is rather scriptural than sectical; and seems to be built on what is said by *St. James*, C. i. V. 17. *Every good and every perfect gift is from above, and* COMETH DOWN FROM THE FATHER OF LIGHTS; which refers to what the apostle had said in the 5th verse of the same chapter; *If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, &c.*

293. *The first and wisest of them all profess'd*
To know this only, that he nothing knew;]

Socrates; of whom Cicero, "Hic in omnibus "fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, "perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil "adfirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, "nisi id ipsum: eoque præstare ceteris, quod illi "quæ nesciant scire se putent; ipse, se nihil scire, "id unum sciat." Cicero ACADEMIC. i. 4.

Newton.

Diogenes Laertius mentions that Socrates was frequently used to say of himself "that the only "thing he knew, was that he knew nothing."—εἰδέναι μὲν μηδὲν, πλὴν αὐτο τυτο εἰδέναι. VIT. SOCRAT. And Plato, in his Apology of Socrates, where he makes him compare himself with some great pretender to wisdom, introduces him thus reasoning,—ὁυτος μεν οιεται τι εἰδέναι, ουκ εἰδως· εγω δε, ὡσπερ ὂν ὁυκ οιδα, ουδε οιομαι. εοικα γοῦν τουτῳ γε σμικρῷ τινι αυτῳ τουτῳ σοφωτερος εἶναι, ὁτι ἁ μη οιδα, ουδε οιομαι εἰδέναι.——"this man thinks he knows "something, which in fact he does not know; but "I, while I really know nothing, do not admit the "supposition of my knowing any thing. I seem "therefore to be somewhat the wiser of the two

To know this only, that he nothing knew;
The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
Others in virtue plac'd felicity,

" on this account, that what I really do not know, " I do not pretend to know." Ld. Serran. Vol. I. p. 21.

295. *The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;*]

Milton, in his Latin Poem, DE IDEA PLATONICA, terms Plato

——— ipse FABULATOR maximus.

38.

This passage shews our Poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher; which were also noticed in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verse of Timon, to this purpose,

Ὡς ανεπλασε Πλατων πεπλασμενα θαυματα ειδως.

What wonderous fictions learned Plato fram'd!——

Athenæus says of Plato's laws, " that they were fitted not for any people that really existed, but for such only as he had figured in his own imagination."

Mr. Calton cites a passage from *Parker's Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonic Philosophy*, Oxford, 1667. where it is observed that " Plato " and his followers communicated their notions " by emblems, fables, symbols, parables, heaps of " metaphors, and all sorts of mystical representa- " tions."——" These," it is afterwards added, " though they are pretty poetic fancies, are infi- " nitely unfit to express philosophical notions and " discoveries of the nature of things."

Smooth conceits are the Italian *concetti*; by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characterise any far-fetched or fine-spun allegories.

296. *A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;*]

These were the Sceptics or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust; that men do all things by law and custom; and that in every thing *this* is not preferable to *that*. This was called the Sceptic philosophy from its continual inspection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. (See Stanley's Life of Pyrrho, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.) *Newton.*

That the Pyrrhonists carried their scepticism to the height described by Milton appears from the following passage, among others, in the life of Pyrrho, by Diogenes Laertius;——Αι δε αισθησεις ψευδονται, ὁ δε λογος διαφωνος, ἡ δε καταληπτικη φαντασια ὑπο νῶν κρινεται, και ὁ νους ποικιλως τρεπεται. αγνωστον ουν το κριτηριον, και δια τουτο η αληθεια.—— " The senses are liable to be deceived, reasoning " has its ambiguities, the reality even of the ob- " jects which we see is questioned by the judgment, " and the judgment has no positive rule of decid- " ing: hence we never arrive at certainty, nor " consequently at truth."——Among other highly refined sceptical declarations of the Pyrrhonists, we also find the following;——ὁτι πυρ καιει αισθανομεθα. ει δε φυσιν εχει καυστικην, επεχομεν. " We " perceive that fire burns, but we do not venture " to assert that its nature is to burn."——And, in another place;——το μεν ὁτι εστι γλυκυ, ου τιθημι. το δε ὁτι φαινεται, ὁμολογω.—" I cannot lay it down " for certain that such a thing is really sweet; " although I confess that to the taste it appears so."

297. *Others in virtue plac'd felicity,*
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;]

These were the old Academics, and the Peripatetics the scholars of Aristotle. " Honeste autem " vivere, fruentem rebus iis, quas primas homini " natura conciliet, et vetus Academia censuit, et " Aristoteles: ejusque amici nunc proxime vi- " dentur accedere." Cicero ACADEMIC. ii. 42. " Ergo nata est sententia veterum Academicorum " et Peripateticorum, ut finem bonorum dicerent, " secundum naturam vivere, id est, virtute ad- " hibita, frui primis à natura datis." DE FIN. ii. 11. *Newton.*

Thus

But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
The Stoic last in philosophic pride,

Thus Cicero, in another passage, DE FINIBUS, &c.; "Multi enim et magni philosophi hæc ul-
"timа bonorum juncta fecerunt, ut Aristoteles,
"qui virtutis usum cum vitæ perfectæ prosperitate
"conjunxit." ii. 6.

299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;*]

The HE is here contemptuously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the opening of his FIRST Philippic, referring to Philip, whom he had not mentioned by name,—και τη νυν υβρει ΤΟΥΤΟΥ, δι ην ταραλτομεθα.——And, in the PARADISE LOST, Satan, in his first speech, when, on the burning lake, he "breaks the horrid silence," speaks of the Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of

HE with his thunder:——

i. 93.

Bp. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him; "Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod
"ipsa natura, ut ait ille, asciscat, et reprobet,
"id est voluptatem et dolorem; ad hæc, et quæ
"sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia." DE FIN. i. 7.—But Epicurus may speak for himself. In his Epistle to Menæceus, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, he points out as the only essential and truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, την τε σωματος ὑγιειαν, και την της ψυχης αταραξιαν; "health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind." "In this," continues he, "consists the perfection
"or sum of a happy life; and accordingly our
"great endeavor is that nothing may give us pain-
"ful sensations, or disturb our ease and tranquillity.
"When once we have secured this material point,
"there is an end to all agitation of the mind;
"there being no object nor pursuit that really calls
"for the attention of living creatures, except the
"completion of their mental and corporal happi-
"ness."——τουτο τε μακαριως ζην εστι τελος· τουτεγαρ χαειν απαντα πραλτομεν ὁπως μητε αλγωμεν, μητε ταρβωμεν· οταν δε απαξ τουτο περι ημας γενηται, λυεται πας ὁ της ψυχης χειμων, ουκ εχοντος τε ζωε βαδιζειν ως προς ενδεον τι, και ζητειν ἑτερον, ω το της ψυχης και τε σωματος αγαθον συμπληρωθησεται.——Thus also his great priest and poet;

——— nonne videre
Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut, quoin
Corpore sejunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
Jucundo sensu, curâ semota metuque?
Ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca videmus
Esse opus omnino, quæ demant cunque dolorem,
Delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint;
Gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit.

LUCRET. ii. 16.

But this philosopher himself was at times more explicit respecting the το τε σωματος αγαθον, which he positively places in "τας δια χειλων ἡδονας, τας δι' αφροδισιων, τας δ' ακροαματων, και τας δια μορφης κατ' ὀψιν ἡδειας κινησεις." The passage from his Περι τελους, is preserved by Diogenes Laertius, L. x., and by Athenæus, L. viii.; and the sense is exhibited by Cicero, TUSC. DISPUT. L. x. C. 20.,) —ego tamen meminero, quod videatur ei summum bonum; non enim verbo solum posuit voluptatem, sed etiam explanavit quid diceret; "SAPOREM,
"inquit, et CORPORUM COMPLEXUM, et LUDOS,
"atque CANTUS, et FORMAS EAS, QUIBUS OCULI
"JUCUNDE MOVEANTUR."

300. *The Stoic last &c.*—]

Nine lines are here employed in exposing the errors of the Stoic philosophy, while the other sects have scarcely more than a single line bestowed upon each of them. This is done with great judgment, The reveries of Plato, the superlative scepticism of Pyrrho, the sensuality of Epicurus, and the selfish meanness of the old Academics and Peripatetics might well be supposed to carry sufficient confutation along with them. But the tenets of the Stoics, which had a great mixture of truth with error, and inculcated, among other things, the moral duties, a great degree of self-denial, and the imitation of the

By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,

the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoics were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the earlier writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoic, says of them, "Licet in-"sectemur istos (Stoicos), metuo ne soli philosophi "sint." Tusc. Disp. iv. 24. Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoic. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoics in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, "Stoici cum nostro "dogmate in plerisque concordant." C. 10. To bring forward, therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. The defects and insufficiencies of their scheme, as Mr. Thyer observes, could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are here by our author.

300. ——— *in philosophic pride,*]

The Stoics maintained that the end or purpose of man was to live conformably to nature, and that this consisted in an absolute perfection of the soul, of which they believed human nature to be capable. This sentiment, as Mrs. Carter observes in the preface to her Translation of Epictetus, tempted even the best of men to pride, by flattering them with false and presumptuous ideas of their own excellence.—Plutarch mentions the arrogance of the Stoics, and the superiority which they assumed over the Academics;——επι δε τοις κατα συνηθειας εκδοθεισιν ουτω ΚΟΜΩΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΓΟΡΟΥΣΙΝ, ωστε τους παντων ομου των Ακαδημαικων λογους εις ταυτο συμφορηθεντας, ουκ αξιους ειναι παραβαλειν οις Χρυσιππος εγραψεν εις διαβολην των αισθησεων.

Plutarch. De Stoicor. Contrarietatibus.

301. *By him call'd virtue;*—]

The philosophy of the Stoics consisted, as they described it, in living according to nature; and this they called virtue. Thus Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Zeno;—ισον εστι ΤΟ ΚΑΤ' ΑΡΕΤΗΝ ΖΗΝ, τω κατ' εμπειριαν των φυσει συμβαινοντων ζην.

302. *Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing*]

Thus Cicero, De Finibus, iii. 7, where Cato is introduced summing up the principles of the Stoic philosophy;—"cum ergo hoc sit extremum, (quod "τελος Græcus dicat,) congruenter naturæ conve-"nienterque vivere, necessario sequitur omnes SA-"PIENTES semper FELICITER, ABSOLUTE, FOR-"TUNATE VIVERE, NULLA RE IMPEDIRI, NULLA "PROHIBERI, NULLA EGERE."

303. *Equal to God,*—]

Bp. Newton here reads

Equals to God, &c.———

and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter *s* must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it, neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction.

It seems to me also probable that

—— all possessing
Equal to God,

was suggested by a passage of Seneca, who is likewise describing the virtuous man of the Stoics,—"Deorum ritu cuncta possideat." Epist. xcii.

The passage cited in the preceding note from Cicero, (De Finibus,) shews how much power and dignity, how many positive attributes of divinity, the Stoics ascribed to their wise or virtuous man.—Seneca speaks more fully, Epist. lxxxvii; "Quæris "quæ res SAPIENTEM efficit? Quæ Deum." And again, Epist. lix.——"Sapiens ille est plenus "gaudio, hilaris et placidus, inconcussus, CUM "DIIS EX PARI VIVIT."—See also Epist. lxxiii.

where

As fearing God nor man, contemning all
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life, 305
Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,

where he compares the truly wise man to Jupiter, to whom he makes him in every respect, excepting only duration of life, equal; and adds, "SAPIENS "NIHILO SE MINORIS ÆSTIMAT, quod virtutes "ejus spatio breviore clauduntur."—And EPIST. xcii;—"*Sed si cui virtus animusque in corpore præ-* "*sens;* hic DEOS ÆQUAT, &c."—Seneca indeed every where abounds with such passages. Epictetus also, (L. i. C. 12,) says, Ου θελεις ουν κατ' α ΙΣΟΣ ΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ, ἐκεῖ που τιθεσθαι το αγαθον;—— "Will you not therefore consider that as your chief good, in which you are equal to the gods?"

303. ———— *oft shames not to prefer,*]

"Ferte fortiter;" says Seneca, "hoc est quo "DEUM ANTECEDATIS. Ille extra patientiam "malorum est, vos supra patientiam." DE PRO- "VIDENT. C. vi.——And, in his FIFTY-THIRD Epistle;—"Est aliquid quo SAPIENS ANTECEDAT "DEUM; ille naturæ beneficio non timet, suo "sapiens."

304. *As fearing God nor man,*—]

"Deos nemo sanus timet. Furor est enim me- "tuere salutaria; nec quisquam amat, quos timet." Senec. DE BENEFICIIS. iv. 19.——"Si animus "fortuita contempsit, si se supra metum sustulit, "* * * * *; si deorum hominumque for- "midinem ejecit, et scit non multum esse ab ho- "mine timendum, a Deo nihil; si contemptor om- "nium, quibus torquetur vita, dum ornatur, eo "perductus est, ut illi liqueat, mortem nullius "mali esse materiam, multorum finem:"—Seneca, DE BENEFICIIS, L. vii. 1.

304. ———————— *contemning all*
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,]

These are the well-known doctrines of the Stoics. There can be little doubt that our author had here in his mind the conclusion of Seneca, DE PROVI- DENTIA; where an exhortation to Stoical fortitude is put in the mouth of the Deity. Part of the passage has been cited in a preceding note. "Puta "itaque Deum dicere. * * * * Intus omne "posui bonum: non egere felicitate, felicitas vestra "est. At multa incidunt tristia, horrenda, dura "toleratu. Quia non poteram vos istis subducere, "animos vestros adversus omnia armavi. Ferte "fortiter; hoc est quo Deum antecedatis. Ille "extra patientiam malorum est, vos supra patien- "tiam. CONTEMNITE PAUPERTATEM; nemo "tam pauper vivit, quam natus est. CONTEMNITE "DOLOREM; aut solvetur, aut solvet. CONTEM- "NITE FORTUNAM; nullum illi telum, quo feriret "animum, dedi. CONTEMNITE MORTEM; quæ "vos aut finit, aut transfert. Ante omnia cavi, ne "quis vos teneret invitos. PATET EXITUS. Si "pugnare non vultis, LICET FUGERE. &c."

Exactly similar to which last passage is the language of Epictetus, ει ουτω ταλας ειμι, ΑΙΜΗΝ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ. ουτος δ' εστιν ὁ λιμην παντων ὁ θανατος. αυτη ἡ καταφυγη. δια τουτο ουδεν των εν τω βιῳ χαλεπον εστιν· ΟΤΑΝ ΘΕΛΗΣ ΕΞΗΛΘΕΣ. L. iv. C. 10.— "When we are oppressed with misery, to die is to "escape from the storm. Death is to all mankind "a harbour, and a place of refuge. It takes away "every evil from that life, which it is in our own "power to quit whenever we please."——Seneca also speaks of death, in the same precise terms, as a desirable harbour from the storms of life.—— "PORTUS est ALIQUANDO PETENDUS, nunquam "recusandus." EPIST. lxx.——And in the same Epistle he says; "Hoc est unum, cur de vita non "possumus queri: neminem tenet. PLACET? "VIVE. NON PLACET? LICET EO REVERTI, "UNDE VENISTI."

307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,*
Or subtle shifts—]

Vain

Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuse him under usual names,

Vain boasts relate to the Stoical paradoxes; and *subtle shifts* to their dialectic, which this sect so much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of *Dialecticians* and *Stoics*. *Warburton.*

308. —— *subtle shifts conviction to evade,*]

"Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit SUBTILE, vel spinosum potius, disserendi genus." Cicero, DE FIN. iii. 1.

310. *Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,*
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?]

Having drawn most accurately the character of the Stoic philosopher, and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superior virtue as built on superior knowledge, the poet here plainly refers to the holy scriptures, as the only true source of information respecting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c. They who have never benefited by divine revelation, he intimates, must bewilder themselves in such researches, and cannot but fall into the greatest absurdities, as was the case of the Stoics and other philosophers.

313. *Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,*]

See what Bp. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his DIVINE LEGATION, Book iii. Sect. 4. *Newton.*

313. ———— *but all awry,*]

But their opinions fail'd BY ERROR LED AWRY,—
Drayton, POLYOLBION, S. 1.

314. *And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves*
All glory arrogate, to God give none,]

Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philosophy upon this point, in the following words:—"propter virtutem enim jure LAUDAMUR, et IN "VIRTUTE RECTE GLORIAMUR: quod non con-"tingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis habe-"remus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re fa-"miliari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus for-"tuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cùm Diis gratias "agimus, tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum ar-"bitramur. Num quis, quòd bonus vir esset, "gratias Diis egit unquam? At quòd dives, quòd "honoratus, quòd incolumis.—Ad rem autem ut "redeam, JUDICIUM HOC OMNIUM MORTALIUM "EST, FORTUNAM A DEO PETENDAM, A SE IPSO "SUMENDAM ESSE SAPIENTIAM." De Nat. Deor. iii. 36. *Warburton.*

316. *Rather accuse him under usual names,*
Fortune and Fate,—]

Thus in the speech which Jupiter addresses to the assembly of the gods in the beginning of the ODYSSEY.

Ω ποποι, οιον δη νυ θεους βροτοι αιτιοωνται.
Εξ ημεων γαρ φασι κακ' εμμεναι, οι δε και αυτοι
Σφησιν ατασθαλιησιν υπερ μορον αλγε' εχουσιν.
i. 32.

Perverse

Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud. However many books,

Perverse mankind, whose wills created free
Charge all their woes on absolute decree;
All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,
And follies are miscall'd the crimes of fate.
Pope.

316. ——————— *under usual names,*
Fortune and Fate,—]

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially the Stoics, thus characterised the Deity.——"Sic "hunc naturam vocas, FATUM, FORTUNAM; om- "nia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua "potestate." DE BENEFICIIS. iv. 8.——"Vis "illum FATUM vocare? non errabis." NAT. QUÆST. ii. 45.

Thus also Seneca the tragic poet;

FATIS agimur; cedite FATIS.
Non sollicitæ possunt curæ
Mutare rati stamina fusi, &c.
ŒDIP. 980.

The Stoic poet, Lucan, frequently terms the Deity, *Fate* or *Fortune*.

Vir ferus, et ROMAM CUPIENTI PERDERE FATO
Sufficiens.
PHARSAL. i. 87.

——————— habenti
Tam pavidum tibi, Roma, ducem FORTUNA PEPERCIT.
IBID. iii. 96.

318. ——————— *Who therefore seeks in these*
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud.—]

In the PARADISE LOST, some of the fallen angels, who are represented as bewildered in the errors of ancient philosophy,

——— reason'd high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
ii. 558.

This is term'd

Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy;

and serving only to

——————— excite
Fallacious hope———

321. *An empty cloud.*—]

A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embraced an *empty cloud* for a Juno. *Newton.*

We meet with an expression somewhat similar, in a beautiful speech of Adam, in the EIGHTH Book of PARADISE LOST. Our first parent had shewed a curiosity and disposition to reason and enquire concerning celestial motions. The Angel replies to him without materially explaining what he enquires after; and in the conclusion of his speech tells him,

—— Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise! &c.——

Adam, thus corrected, thanks the Angel for his advice, and adds

——— apt the mind or fancy is to rove,
Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is FUME,
Or EMPTINESS, &c.———
188.

321. ——————————— *many books,*
Wise men have said, are wearisome;—]

Alluding to Eccles. xii. 12. *Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.* *Newton.*

The same sentiment may be traced to classical authority. "Aiunt enim," says the younger

Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
(And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.

Pliny, "MULTUM legendum esse, NON MULTA." L. viii. EPIST. 9.—It is indeed a Stoical precept, and as such Milton might refer to it in the words, *wise men have said.*—Των δε βιβλιων διψαν φυγον. Antonin. MEDITAT. L. xi. 3—"Do not indulge "yourself in a thirst after books."—"Illud autem "vide ne ista LECTIO MULTORUM AUCTORUM, "et omnis generis voluminum, habeat aliquid "vagum et instabile. * * * * * * * * * "Distrahit animum LIBRORUM MULTITUDO." Senec. EPIST. ii. "Quo mihi innumerabiles libros "et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita "sua indices perlegit? ONERAT DISCENTEM "TURBA, non instruit; multoque satius est paucis "te auctoribus tradere, quam ERRARE PER MUL-"TOS." Senec. DE TRANQUILLITAT. ANIMI. C. 9.

322. ——— *who reads Incessantly, &c.*—]

The same just sentiment, Mr. Thyer observes, may be seen in PARADISE LOST, vii. 126.

——— knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite ——— ——
Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

327. *Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself,*]

Milton would, I conceive, thus have characterised his old antagonist, Salmasius.

327. ——— *shallow in themselves,*]

We have exactly the opposite phrase in the SECOND Book of this Poem. It is there said that our blessed Lord,

——— tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
INTO HIMSELF DESCENDED,——

109.

329. ——— *worth a sponge;*]

Suetonius has the expression *spongias*, where, speaking of the liberality with which Augustus Cæsar bestowed his gifts on festival occasions among the people, he also notices that he sometimes used to amuse himself by throwing amongst them *things of no value.* "Festos et sollennes dies "profusissime, nonnunquam joculariter tantum, "celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias li-"buisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem, et "aurum, et argentum;——interdum nihil præter "cilicia, et SPONGIAS, et rutabula, &c."—VIT. AUGUST. C. 75.

330. *As children gathering pebbles on the shore.*]

Cicero, (DE ORATOR. ii. 22. Ed. Proust,) makes Crassus relate that Lælius and Scipio, when they had escaped into the country, were accustomed to amuse themselves with the pastimes of their childhood; where the circumstance of their "gathering "pebbles on the shore," is particularly specified among the puerile relaxations of these great men. "Non

Or, if I would delight my private hours
With music or with poem, where, so soon
As in our native language, can I find
That solace? All our law and story strow'd
With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;
Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
The vices of their Deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid

" Non audeo dicere de talibus viris, sed tamen ita " solet narrare Scævola, conchas eos et umbilicos " ad Caietam et ad Laurentum legere consuesse, " et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque de- " scendere."

335. ——— *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,*]

He means the inscriptions often prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as *To the chief musician upon Nehiloth, To the chief musician on Neginoth upon Sheminеth, Shiggaion of David, Michtam of David, &c.* to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments. *Newton.*

336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon*
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear,—]

This is said upon the authority of Psal. cxxxvii. 1, &c. *By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Sion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they that wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Sion.* *Newton.*

338. *That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;*]

This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale.

Warburton.

Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from them. (STROMAT. L. i. p. 308. Ed. Colon. 1688.) He also charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their doctrines from the Jewish prophets. (L. i. p. 312.)

341. ——————— *personating*]

This is in the Latin sense of *personо*, to celebrate loudly, to publish or proclaim.

343. ——— *swelling epithets, thick laid*]

Swelling epithets thick laid is particularly applicable to the Orphic hymns. Indeed gods and heroes were scarcely ever mentioned by the Greek poets without some *swelling*, i. e. compound, epithet. Jupiter is Νεφελαγερετης, or Αιγιοχος, the *Cloud-*

As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,
The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints,
(Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,)

compeller, or the *Ægis-bearer;* Apollo, Εκηβολος, or Αργυροτοξος, the *far-darter*, or the *God of the silver bow;* Neptune, Γαιηοχος, ενοσιγαιος, the *circler of the earth*, and *the shaker of the earth;* Mars, Ανδροφονος, Βροτολοιγος, Τειχεσιπλητης, the *slayer of men*, and the *overturner of cities*. Juno was Λευκωλενος, or the *white-arm'd;* Minerva, Γλαυκωπις, or the *blue-ey'd:* Agamemnon was Ευρυκρειων, or the *widely-reigning;* Hector, κορυθαιολος, *master of the variegated helmet;* Achilles, ποδας ωκυς, and ποδαρκης, the *swift of foot*, &c.

343. ——————————— *thick laid,*
As varnish on the harlot's cheek,—]

The Duke of Buckingham, very possibly, had this passage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote the following lines of his ESSAY ON POETRY;

Figures of speech, which poets think so fine,
(Art's needless VARNISH to make nature shine,)
Are all but PAINT UPON A BEAUTEOUS FACE,
And in descriptions only claim a place.

as Milton, most probably, had the following lines of Shakespeare:

The HARLOT'S CHEEK, BEAUTIED WITH PLASTERING ART,
Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
Than is my deed to my most painted word.
HAMLET, Act III. Sc. 1.

345. *Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,*]

In allusion to Horace's

Aut PRODESSE volunt, aut DELECTARE poetæ;
ART. POET. 333.

Plato also has observed, (DE REPUB. x. p. 607. Ed. Serran.) that the only justification of poetry is when it unites the power of pleasing with civil and moral instruction. ὡς ἐ μονον ἡδεια αλλα και ωφελιμη προς τας πολιτειας και τον βιον τον ανθρωπινον εστι.

346. *Will far be found unworthy to compare*
With Sion's songs,—]

He was of this opinion not only in the decline of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears from the preface to his second Book of the *Reason of Church Government.*—"Or if occasion shall "lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns "wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most "things worthy, some others in their frame ju- "dicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But "those frequent songs throughout the law and "prophets beyond all these, not in their divine "argument alone, but in the very critical art of "composition, may be easily made appear, over all "the kinds of lyric poetry, to be incomparable."
Newton.

348. *Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,*]

The only poetry which Plato recommends to be admitted into a state, are "hymns to the gods, "and encomiums on virtuous actions." Ειδεναι δε ὁτι ὁσον μοιον ὑμνες θεοις και εγκωμια της αγαθης ποιησεως παραδεικτεον εις πολιν. DE REPUB. L. x. p. 607. Ed. Serran.

350. *Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,*
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.]

Thus the passage stands pointed in Bp. Newton's edition; where Mr. Meadowcourt observes that the sense of these lines is highly obscure, and explains them

Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.
Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence; statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic unaffected stile,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,

them to mean, "Poets from thee inspired are not "such as these, unless where moral virtue is ex- "pressed &c." But this is very far from satisfactory.—Indeed the obscurity, if not caused, is increased by departing from the punctuation of the first edition, which had a semicolon after *not such from thee*. *Unless* certainly has no reference to the immediately preceding line; which I have therefore put in a parenthesis, supposing the exception to refer to Ver. 346.

Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, &c.
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.

I will venture however to suggest a new arrangement of the passage;

——— the rest
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
(Unless where mortal virtue is express'd
By light of nature not in all quite lost,)
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is prais'd alike and God-like men,
The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints:
Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee.

354. ——— *statists*—]

Or statesmen. A word in more frequent use formerly, as in Shakespeare, CYMBELINE, Act II. Sc. 5.

——— I do believe,
(STATIST though I am none, nor like to be:)

and HAMLET, Act V. Sc. 3.

I once did hold it, as our STATISTS do, &c.

Newton.

Milton uses *statists* for *statesmen*, in his AREOPAGITICA.—"When as private persons are hereby "animated to think ye better pleased with public "advice, than other STATISTS have been before "delighted with public flattery." PROSE WORKS. p. 424. Ed. Amsterdam. 1698.

362. ——— *makes a nation happy, and keeps it so*,]

Horace, L. i. EPIST. vi. 2.

——— FACERE aut SERVARE beatum.

Richardson.

With a reference also to *Proverbs*. xiv. 34. *Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.*

What

What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
These only with our law best form a king.
So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now
Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent,)
Thus to our Saviour with stern brow reply'd.
SINCE neither wealth nor honor, arms nor arts,
Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
By me propos'd in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? The wilderness
For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee; yet remember
What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiously, my offer'd aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,

363. ——————— *lays cities flat;*]

Alluding perhaps to the expression in scripture respecting Jericho;—*The wall of the city shall fall down* FLAT. Joshua, vi. 5. & 20.

366. ——————— *for all his darts were spent,*]

Possibly with a reference to *the fiery darts of the wicked.* Ephes. vi. 16. But archery furnished metaphors frequently to the Latin and Greek writers. Thus Horace, reproving the unbounded aims and designs of men;

Quid brevi fortes JACULAMUR ævo
Multa?——

L. ii. ODE xvi.

And Æschylus, speaking of "the tongue that "launches forth much improper language,"

—— γλωσσα ΤΟΞΕΥΟΥΣΑ μη τα καιρια.

SUPPLIC. 455.

And in the same manner Euripides, HECUB. 603.

Και ταυτα μεν δη νὺξ ΕΤΟΞΕΥΣΕΝ ματην.

377. *Nicely or cautiously*—]

Thus Ver. 157, of this Book,

Nothing will please the difficult and NICE.

380. ——————— *fulness of time, thy season,*]

Galat. iv. 4. *When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.* *Newton.*

When

When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,
Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrow and labors, opposition, hate
Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death;
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegoric, I discern not;
Nor when; eternal sure, as without end,

384. ——— *if I read aught in Heaven,*]

A satire on Cardan, who with the boldness and impiety of an atheist and a madman, both of which he was, cast the nativity of Jesus Christ, and found by the great and illustrious concourse of stars at his birth, that he must needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton, with a just indignation of this impiety, hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the Devil. *Newton.*

385. ——— *give me to spell,*]

Where I may sit and rightly SPELL
Of every star that Heaven doth shew,
And every herb that sips the dew;
Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.

PENSEROSO. 170.

386. *Sorrows, and labors, opposition, hate*
Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly, cruel death;]

Plato, in his REPUBLICK, where he draws the character of the Just Man and the Unjust, says there can be no difficulty in foreseeing what will be the fate of each of these respective persons. He then proceeds to describe that of the truly Just Man, who is actuated by no other principle but Justice or Virtue, and shews that his life will be a continued state of affliction and suffering. He professes indeed that he is not delivering his own real sentiments, but the sentiments and usual mode of reasoning of the professed partizans of Αδικια, or an interested and unprincipled conduct. But the calamitous life of the Just Man is, in a great part, so literally descriptive of that of our Blessed Lord upon earth, that it may be well exhibited here in Plato's own words. Ο δικαιος μαστιγωσεται, στρεβλωσεται, δεδησεται, — — — — — τελευτων παντα κακα παθων ανασχινδιλευθησεται. DE REPUBLIC. L. ii. p. 361. Ed. Serran. "The just "man shall be scourged, shall be put to the tor- "ture, shall be bound, — — — — at "length having suffered every species of barbarous "treatment, he shall be crucified." Serranus thus translates ανασχινδιλευθησεται by *in crucem tolletur;* and Heysychius explains ανασχινδιλευζω by αναστολοπιζω, and αναστολοπιζω by αναταυροω.

391. ——— *as without end,*
Without beginning,—]

"The poet," says Bp. Newton, "did not think "it enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by making "it

Without beginning, for no date prefix'd
Directs me in the starry rubric set.
So saying he took, (for still he knew his power
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderness
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As day-light sunk, and brought in lowering night
Her shadowy offspring; unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.

" it patronised by the Devil; to shew at the same " time the absurdity of it, he makes the Devil also " blunder in the expression of portending *a kingdom " which was without beginning*. This," he adds, " destroys all he would insinuate." But the poet certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly sarcastic on the eternity of Christ's kingdom, respecting which the Tempter says he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, *that of never beginning*. This is that *species of insulting wit*, which the Devils, in the SIXTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Bp. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, " when we consider the character of " the speakers, and that such kind of insulting " wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous " spirits."

398. ——————————— *low'ring night,*
Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,]

This is a good deal in the manner of Cowley; who thus begins his Ode entitled LIFE AND FAME;

O life, thou nothing's younger brother!
So like that one might take one for the other!
What's somebody, or nobody!
In all the cobwebs of the schoolmen's trade,
We no such nice distinctions see,
As 'tis to be, or not to be!
Dream of a shadow! &c.———

400. *Privation mere of light, and absent day.*]

Aristotle, (DE ANIMA, L. ii.) defines darkness to be " the privation of light."—φως δε εστιν το διαφανες ενεργεια, δοκει δε το φως εναντιον τω σκοτει. εστι δε το σκοτος ΣΤΕΡΗΣΙΣ της τοιαυτης εξεως εκ διαφανους.—And again (DE SENS. ET SENS.)—ὁταν ενῃ τι πυρωδες εν διαφανει, Η ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΦΩΣ, Η ΔΕ ΣΤΕΡΗΣΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ. But " our poet's phi- " losophy," as Bp. Warburton observes, " is here " ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just " been painting." Euripides, in a chorus of his Orestes, personifying Night, calls upon her to arise from Erebus, or the shades below,

Ποτνια, πολνια νυξ
* * * * * *
Ερεβοθεν ιθι,———

174.

where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkness as really " unsubstantial," and *merely produced by the absence of light, or day*.——Κατερχομενη τη ηλιω εις το ὑπο γην ἡμισφαιριον, σκοτος επανω της γης γινεται, ωσπερ εκ των κατωθεν ανιεναι δοκων, ουκ ὡς ὀν εν τοις κατω και ανερχομενον, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗ ΑΠΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΥΦΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ.

Our

Our Saviour meek and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head;
But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head
The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb'd his sleep. And either tropic now

403. ——— *betook him to his rest,*
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head,]

Thus, Book ii. 260.;

It was the HOUR OF NIGHT, when thus the Son
Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
Under THE HOSPITABLE COVERT NIGH
OF TREES THICK INTERWOVEN;———

And Book i. 303.;

Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
Sometimes, anon in shady vale, EACH NIGHT
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar TO DEFEND HIM FROM THE DEW,
Or harbor'd in one cave, is not reveal'd; ——

405. ——— *branching arms—*]

In the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST, V. 1103, the Indian fig-tree is described, spreading

——— her ARMS
BRANCHING so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root &c.

And ARCADES, lxxxvii.;

Under the shady roof
Of BRANCHING ELM star-proof.

407. ——————————— *at his head*
The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb'd his sleep;—]

In the PARADISE LOST, the Tempter begins his Temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams. Ithuriel and Zephon find him

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams;
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
The animal spirits that from pure blood arise
Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits ingendering pride.
iv. 800.

Here it may be observed the Tempter tries only "to disturb our Lord with ugly dreams," and not to excite in him, as he did in Eve,

"Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires."

409. ——————— *and either tropic now*
'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, &c.—]

It thundered from both tropics, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The Ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropic, and the left towards the winter tropic. Πυθαγορας, Πλατων, Αριστοτελης, δεξια τω κοσμω τα ανατολικα μερη, ἀφ ὡν ἡ αρχη της κινησεως· αριστερα δε, τα δυτικα. Εμπεδοκλης δεξια μεν τα κατα τον θερινον τροπικον· αριστερα δε τα κατα τον χειμερινον· De Placit. Philos. ii. 10. Αιγυπτιοι οιονται τα

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd

τα μεν ἑωα τῳ κοσμῳ προσωπον ειναι, τα δε προς βορειαν δεξια, τα δε προς νοτον αριστερα. Id. de Isid. p. 363. If by *either tropic* he meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heaven* may be understood *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropics cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropics: but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is thus: It thundered all along the Heaven, from the north pole to the tropic of Cancer, from thence to the tropic of Capricorn, from thence to the south pole: from pole to pole. The *ends of Heaven* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil, Æn. i.

Intonuere poli———

"Id est extremæ partes cœli——a quibus totum "cœlum contonuisse significat." Servius. *Fortin.*

By *either tropic now 'gan thunder* Bp. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropics. By *and both ends of heaven*, he understands *from* or *at both ends of Heaven*, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

——— either tropic now
'Gan thunder, and, both ends of Heaven, the clouds
From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd &c.

I agree that by *either tropic* Milton most probably meant that it thunder'd from the north and south; but I conceive that by *both ends of Heaven* he means east and west, the points where the sun rises and sets; as his purpose is to describe a general storm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and south, but from every point of the horizon at once.

This storm, as Bp. Newton has suggested, is very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil spirits;

Ma la schiera infernal, ch' in quel conflitto
La tirannide sua cader vedea,
Sendole ciò permesso, in un momento
L'aria in nubi ristrinse, e mosse il vento.

Da gli occhi de' mortali un negro velo
Rapisce il giorno, e'l Sole, e par ch' avvampi,
Negro via piu c' horror d' inferno, il cielo,
Cosi fiameggia infra baleni e lampi:
Fremono i tuoni, e pioggia accolta in gelo
Si versa, e i paschi abbate, e inonda i campi:
Schianta i rami il gran turbo, e par che crolli
Non pur le quercie, ma le rocche, e i colli.
Canto vii. St. 114.

——— had not the Devils, who saw the sure decay
Of their false kingdom by this bloody war,
At once made heaven and earth with darkness blind,
And stirr'd up tempests, storms, and blustering wind.

Heaven's glorious lamp wrapp'd in an ugly veil
Of shadows dark was hid from mortal eye,
And hell's grim blackness the bright skies assail;
On every side the fiery lightnings fly;
The thunders roar; the streaming rain and hail
Pour down, and make that sea which erst was dry:
The tempests rend the oaks, and cedars brake,
And make not trees, but rocks and mountains quake.
Fairfax.

410. ——————————— *the clouds,*
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, &c.—]

This storm of Milton will lose nothing by a comparison with the celebrated ones of Homer in his FIFTH Odyssey, and of Virgil in his FIRST Æneid. It is painted from nature, and in the boldest style.—The night is a *lowring one*, with a heavy overcharged atmosphere. The storm commences with thunder from every part of the heavens. The rain then pours down in sudden precipitated torrents, finely marked by the epithet *abortive* as materially different from the gradual progression of the most violent common showers; and the lightnings seem to burst in a tremendous manner from *horrid rifts*, from the most internal recesses of the sky. To make the horror complete, the winds, as is often the case in those countries where thunder storms are most violent, join their force to that of the

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconcil'd: nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad

the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder storms in this country; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it necessary to observe that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the West Indies agree pretty much to this description. But such storms are not confined to tropical situations, or even to countries approaching towards them. I was a witness of one in the northern part of Germany, lat. 52, which was every thing the poet has here described: the wind was to the full as tremendous as the thunder and lightning, and, like them, seemed to come from every point of the heavens at once.

411. *From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd*
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd,—]

Involvere diem nimbi, et nox humida cœlum
Abstulit: ingeminant ABRUPTIS NUBIBUS ignes.
Virg. ÆN. iii. 196.

412. ——————— *water with fire*
In ruin reconcil'd:]

Bp. Warburton understands this, *joined together to do hurt.* Mr. Thyer says it is a bold figure borrowed from Æschylus's description of the storm that scattered the Grecian fleet;

Ξυνωμοσαν γαρ, οντες εχθιστοι το πριν,
Πυρ και θαλασσα, &c.———
AGAMEM. 559.

These powers once adverse, fire and water, now
Became confederate———

But I apprehend Bp. Newton sees the passage in its true light, when he says it only means *the fire and water fell, (*i. e. *rush'd down,) together,* according to Milton's usage of the word *ruin,* PARADISE LOST, i. 46. and *ruining,* vi. 868.

Thus also, Ver. 436. of this Book;

After a night of storm so RUINOUS,——

Ruo and *ruina* are used by the Roman poets in this sense.

Thus Virgil, GEORG. i. 324.

——— RUIT arduus æther,——

And, Æn. i. 129.

Fluctibus oppressos Troas, cœlique RUINA.

Thus also Silius Italicus, i. 251.

——— insanos imbres cœlique RUINAM.

413. ——————— *nor slept the winds*
Within their stony caves,—]

Virgil describes the winds as placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the controul of their god, Æolus.

——— Hic VASTO rex Æolus ANTRO
Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere frænat.
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum claustra fremunt. Celsa sedet Æolus arce
Sceptra tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras.
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.
Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
Hoc metuens; molemque et montes insuper altos
Imposuit,———
ÆN. i. 52.

Lucan also speaks of the "stony prison" of the winds;

——— non imbribus atrum
ÆOLII jacuisse Notum sub CARCERE SAXI
Crediderim.
v. 608.

And Lucretius, L. vi.

SPELUNCASQUE VELUT SAXIS PENDENTIBUS STRUCTAS
Cernere, quas venti quom, tempestate coorta,
Complêrunt, magno indignantur murmure clausi
Nubibus.———

414. ——————— *but rush'd abroad*
From the four hinges of the world,—]

That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* signifying both a *hinge* and a *cardinal point.* Virgil, ÆN. i. 85.

From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks
Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken: nor yet stay'd the terror there;

Una Eurusque Notusque RUUNT, creberque procellis
Africus.
Newton.

416. *On the vex'd wilderness,—*]

Vexare is commonly used by the Latin poets to describe the effects of a storm.

——— aut mare Caspium
VEXANT inæquales procellæ;—
Hor. 2. ODE ix.

——— vindemia nimbis
Continuis VEXATA,———
Martial, 1 EP. lii.

——— montesque supremos
SYLVIFRAGIS VEXAT FLABRIS,———
Lucret. i. 276.

Milton frequently uses *to vex* in its Latin sense: see PARADISE LOST, i. 306., and, iii. 429.

417. *Though rooted deep as high,—*]

This, as Mr. Richardson observes, is from Virgil, where he compares the obduracy of Æneas, when quitting Dido, to an oak, which, though assailed by the most violent storms, stands unmoved;

Ipsa hœret scopulis; et QUANTUM VERTICE AD AURAS
ÆTHEREAS, TANTUM RADICE AD TARTARA TENDIT.
ÆN. iv. 445.

418. ——— *loaden with stormy blasts,*]

This has some resemblance to Horace's

——— aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani LABORANT,———
L. 2. Ode ix.

419. ——— *Ill wast thou shrouded then,*]

Thus COMUS, 316;

And if your stray attendance be yet lodg'd,
Or SHROUD within these limits,———

And PARADISE LOST, x. 1068.;

——— while the winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
Of these far-spreading trees, which bid us seek
Some better SHROUD,———

Spenser frequently uses *shroud* for *shelter;*

But trembling fear still to and fro did fly,
And found no place where safe he SHROUD him might.
FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. vii. St. 22.

420. ——— *yet only stood'st*
Unshaken;—]

Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius de Dem. Evan. (Lib. ix. Vol. II. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days, and the same number of nights.——Και επειδηπερ ημεραις τεσσαρακοντα, και ταις τοσαυταις νυξιν επειραζετο. And to these night temptations he applies what is said in the Psalm xci. 5. and 6. Ου φοβηθησῃ απο φοβου νυκτερινου, *Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night,* — απο πραγματος εν σκοτει διαπορευομενου, *nor for the danger that walketh in darkness.* The first is thus paraphrased in the Targum, (though with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) "Non timebis *à timore Dæmonum qui* "*ambulant in nocte.*" The fiends *surround* our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect. *Calton.*

421. *Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round*
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, &c.—]

This too is from Eusebius, ibid. p. 435. Επειπερ εν τῳ πειραζειν δυναμεις πονηραι εκυκλων αυτον.—— "quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ potestates "*illum*

Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd,
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.
Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair

" *illum circumstabant.*" And their repulse, it seems, is also predicted in the 7th verse of the xcist Psalm: *A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.* *Calton.*

Bp. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both observe that this description is taken from the legend, or the pictures, of the Temptation of St. Anthony.

Tasso has a description somewhat similar, where Armida, having lost Rinaldo, and returning to destroy her palace, assembles her attendant spirits in a storm;

Guinta a gli alberghi suoi chiamò trecento
Con lingua horrenda deità d' Averno.
S'empie il ciel d' atre nubi, e in un momento
Impallidisce il gran pianeta eterno,
E soffia, e scote i gioghi alpestri il vento.
Ecco già sotto i piè mugghiar l' inferno.
Quanto gira il palagio, udresti irati
Sibili, e urli, e fremiti, e latrati.

Canto, xvi. St. 67.

When home she came, she called, in outcry shrill,
A thousand devils, in Limbo deep that wun;
Black clouds the skies with horrid darkness fill;
And pale for dread became the eclipsed sun;
The whirlwind bluster'd big on ev'ry hill,
And Hell to roar beneath her feet begun;
You might have heard how, through the palace wide,
Some spirits howl'd, some bark'd, some hiss'd, some cried.

We may also compare a passage in Shakespeare, which concludes Clarence's relation of his horrid dream in the Tower just before he is murdered;

With that, methought, A LEGION OF FOUL FIENDS
ENVIRON'D ME, AND HOWLED IN MINE EARS
Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
I trembling wak'd; and for a season after
Could not believe but that I was in Hell:
Such terrible impression made my dream.

K. RICHARD III. ACT I. Sc. 5.

424. ——————— *their fiery darts,—*]

—— *the* FIERY DARTS *of the wicked.* Ephes. vi. 16.

425. *Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.*]

The contrast, which this line gives to the preceding description of the horrors of the storm, has a singularly fine effect.

426. ——————— *till morning fair*
Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray,]

In the COMUS evening is described, in a similarly beautiful manner, as distinguished by the monastic habit and religious character;

—— the GRAY-HOODED even,
LIKE A SAD VOTARIST IN PALMER'S WEED,——

And not dissimilar is the justly-admired description of evening coming on, in the FOURTH Book of the PARADISE LOST;

Now came STILL evening on, and TWILIGHT GRAY
Had in her sober livery all things clad,

598.

on which passage Mr. Thyer, remarking the frequent and particular notice which Milton has taken of the *twilight gray*, whenever he has occasion to speak of the evening, observes that " the weakness " of the poet's eyes, to which this kind of light " must be vastly pleasant, might be the reason that " he so often introduces the mention of it."—— The same may be said of his descriptions of the early morning, the soften'd light of day-break.

Thus, (PARADISE LOST, vii. 374,) having described " the glorious regent of day" beginning his *jocund* course, he adds

——— the GRAY
DAWN, and the Pleiades, before him danced
SHEDDING SWEET INFLUENCE,——

Thu

Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray;
Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar

Thus also, LYCIDAS, 187;

While the still morn went out WITH SANDALS GRAY.

And ALLEGRO, 44.;

Till the DAPPLED dawn doth rise;

where *dappled* means *gray*. *Dappled gray* is a spotted gray; thus Shakespeare, MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, Act V. Sc. 3.

——— the gentle day
DAPPLES the drowsy east WITH SPOTS OF GRAY.

Shakespeare is fond of *the gray morning*.

The GRAY-EY'D morn smiles on the frowning night.
ROMEO AND JULIET, II. 3.

I'll say yon GRAY is not the MORNING'S EYE,
IBID. III. 5.

Chaucer, in his KNIGHT'S TALE, Ver. 1493, describes

The merry larke, messengere of the day,
Salewing in her song THE MORNING GRAY.

427. ——— *with pilgrim steps*—]

With the slow solemn pace of a pilgrim on a journey of devotion. *Newton.*

427. ——————————— *amice gray*,]

Amice gray is gray cloathing. Amice, a significant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, to clothe; and is used by Spenser, FAERY QUEEN, Book I. C. iv. St. 18.

Array'd in habit black, and AMICE THIN,
Like to an holy monk the service to begin.
Newton.

Amice gray, Mr. Warton says, is the *graius amictus* of the Roman Ritual.——Milton, he also observes, in a controversy about church-habits, uses the word *amice*. "We have heard of Aaron, and "his linen AMICE &c." Pr. W. i. 100.

The Roman poets give night a *sable* or *dusky* amice. Thus Silius Italicus, xv. 285.;

—— nox ATRO circumdata corpus AMICTU.

And IBID. xii. 612.;

—— terras cæco nox condit AMICTU.

Thus also, Statius, THEBAID. iii. 415.;

Nox subiit, curasque hominum, motusque ferarum
Composuit, NIGROQUE polos involvit AMICTU.

Virgil gives the Naiad *Juturna* a *glaucus amictus*, a sort of "gray amice," or robe of a light gray, or sea-green, colour;

Jam tum effata caput GLAUCO contexit AMICTU.

The gray-robe of this goddess of the brook might be the *gray* mist that frequently exhaled from the stream; or the *gray* willows that hung over it, and fringed its banks. The Roman poets, by giving the epithet *glaucus* to the olive tree, ascertain that colour to have been nearly a gray.

Aurora in Homer, (IL. viii. 1.,) has a saffron robe, or amice, and is termed

Ηως ΚΡΟΚΟΠΕΠΛΟΣ.

In HAMLET, (Act I. Sc. 1.,)

——— the morn, IN RUSSET MANTLE CLAD,
WALKS O'ER the dew of yon high eastern hill.

And in the PENSEROSO, Ver. 44., morn at its first appearance is CIVIL-SUITED, i. e. dressed like a sober citizen in gray, or at least in some colour not of a glaring kind.

428. *Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar*
Of thunder, chac'd the clouds, and laid the winds, &c.]

This is an imitation of a passage in the first Æneid of Virgil, where Neptune is represented with his trident laying the storm which Æolus had raised. ver. 142.

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,
COLLECTASQUE FUGAT NUBES, solemque reducit.

There is the greater beauty in the English poet, as the scene he is describing under this charming figure is perfectly consistent with the course of nature; nothing being more common than to see a stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morning. *Thyer.*

That Milton had here in his mind the ΡΟΔΟΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΣ Ηως, the *rosy-finger'd Aurora* of Homer and Hesiod, must be supposed; but while *rosy-finger'd* is the proper epithet of the dawn, which immediately

Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd 430

immediately precedes the rising of the sun, the early morning, when the sun is absolutely risen, is justly described with *radiant*, instead of *rosy* fingers. In availing himself of the heathen poet's mode of characterising the dawn, I conceive, our Author had an eye to *the finger of God*. Exodus, viii 19. Luke, xi. 20. It is observable that to *still the roar of the storm* is also a scriptural phrase. Psalm lxv. 7.—lxxxix. 9. It is needless to suggest to the reader of taste how much more the beauty and imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider it with a view to these scriptural allusions. *Aurora*, or the dawn, *rising with rosy fingers*, with a tint of red in the extreme parts of her person that first emerge, is a *pleasing* image; but morning *with her radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night* is a truly *sublime* one.

430. *And grisly spectres which the Fiend had rais'd,*]

This is the old superstition of evil spirits disappearing at break of day; which Milton is censured by Bp. Warburton for introducing in this place.—He has also alluded to it in his ODE ON THE NATIVITY;

So when the sun in bed,
Curtain'd with cloudy red,
Pillows his chin upon an orient wave,
The flocking shadows pale,
Troop to the infernal jail,
Each fetter'd ghost slips to his several grave,
And the yellow-skirted Fayes
Fly after the night steeds, leaving their moon-lov'd maze.

We meet with it also in the following passage of Prudentius;

Ferunt vagantes dæmonas,
Lætos tenebris noctium,
Gallo canente exterritos
Sparsim timere, et cedere:

Invisa nam vicinitas
Lucis, salutis, numinis,
Rupto tenebrarum situ,
Noctis fugat satellites.

CATHEMERIN. Hymn i.

This popular superstition, respecting the evanescence of spirits at the crowing of the cock, Shakespeare, as Mr. Warton observes, has finely availed himself of in his HAMLET, where the Ghost vanishes at this circumstance.

It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, say they, no spirit dares walk abroad;
The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, no witch has power to charm;
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

The supposed effect of day-break, in this respect, is also described very poetically by the same great master in his MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, Act III. Scene *the last*;

And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach ghosts wandering here and there
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all,
That in crossways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone.

Thus also Cowley, in his HYMN TO LIGHT, Stanz. 10;

Night and her ugly subjects thou dost fright, &c.—

And Stanz. 17.;

The ghosts, and monster spirits, that did presume
A body's privilege to assume,
Vanish again invisibly,——

But perhaps no poet has more happily availed himself of this old superstition, or has introduced it more poetically than the late Mr. Gray, in his PROGRESS OF POETRY, where the relief, which the Muse affords to the real and imaginary ills of life, is compared to the day dispelling the gloom and terrors of the night.

Night, and all her sickly dews,
Her SPECTRES WAN, and birds of boding cry,
He gives to range the dreary sky;
Till down the eastern cliffs afar
Hyperion's march they spy, and glittering shafts of war.

STANZA ii. 1.

To

To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had chear'd the face of earth, and dry'd the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,

432. *And now the sun with more effectual beams*
Had chear'd the face of earth, and dry'd the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.]

There is in this description all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy. We may compare an evening scene of the same kind, PARADISE LOST, ii. 488.

As, when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'erspread
Heaven's chearful face, the lowering element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape snow or shower;
If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley ring.

Thyer.

We may also refer the reader to part of a beautiful sonnet of Spenser. The poet is comparing the smiles of his mistress, breaking out after some cloudy looks,

Unto the fair sunshine in summer's day,
That, when a dreadful storm away is flit,
Through the broad world doth spread his goodly ray;
At sight whereof each bird that sits on spray
And every beast that to his den was fled
Come forth afresh out of their late dismay,
And to the light lift up their drooping head.

SONNET, XL.

Cowley, in his HYMN TO LIGHT, has the following beautiful stanza;

When, goddess, thou lift'st up thy waken'd head,
Out of the morning's purple bed,
Thy choir of birds about thee play,
And all the joyful world salutes the rising day.

Tasso has the decription of a sea-storm instantly changed to a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights sail in search of Rinaldo;

A pena ha tocco la mirabil nave
De la marina all' hor turbata il lembo
Che spariscon le nubi, e cessa il grave
Noto, che minacciava oscuro nembo.
Spiana i monti de l' onde aura soave,
E solo increspa il bel ceruleo grembo;
E d' un dolce seren diffuso ride
Il ciel, che se più chiaro unqua non vide.

L. xv. 9.

The wonderous boat scant touch'd the troubled main,
But all the sea still, hush'd, and quiet was;
Vanish'd the clouds, ceased the wind and rain,
The threaten'd storm did over-blow and pass;
A gently-breathing air made even and plain,
The azure face of Heaven's transparent glass;
And Heaven itself smil'd from the skies above,
With a calm clearness on the earth, his love.

Fairfax.

Was

Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The prince of darkness; glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device, (they all were spent,)
Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood;
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
And in a careless mood thus to him said.

FAIR morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a dismal night: I heard the wrack,
As earth and sky would mingle; but myself
Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,

449. ——————— *in wonted shape,*]

That is, in his own proper shape, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord. He comes now hopeless of success, without device or disguise, and, as the poet expressly says,

Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.

452. *As earth and sky would mingle;*—]

Virgil, ÆN. i. 137.;

Jam CŒLUM TERRAMQUE meo sine numine, venti,
MISCERE, et tantas audetis tollere moles?

Richardson.

454. ——————— *these flaws,*—]

Flaw is a sea term for a sudden storm, or gust of wind.

In the PARADISE LOST, among the changes produced in the natural world are violent storms, which are described

—— arm'd with ice,
And snow and hail, and STORMY GUST AND FLAW;
x. 697.

where Bp. Newton cites two verses from Shakespeare's VENUS and ADONIS;

Like a red morn that ever yet betoken'd
GUST, and foul FLAWS to herdsmen and to herds.

455. *As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,*]

So also, COMUS, 597.;

—— if this fail,
The PILLAR'D FIRMAMENT is rottenness.

In both, no doubt, alluding to Job, xxvi. 11. *The* PILLARS OF HEAVEN *tremble, and are astonish'd at his reproof.* *Thyer.*

Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone;
Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill:
This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offer'd with my aid
To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
For both the when and how is no where told?
Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
The time and means. Each act is rightliest done,
Not when it must, but when it may be best:
If thou observe not this, be sure to find,

467. *Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject*
The perfect season offer'd by my aid, &c.]

Here is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee?* The *thing told* we may suppose to be what Satan had before said, Book iii. 351.;

— Thy kingdom, though foretold
By Prophet, or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still,
In all things, and all men, supposes means;
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.

What

What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;
Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee round,
So many terrors, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.
So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus.
Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors, which thou speak'st of, did me none;
I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious Spirit; and wouldst be thought my God;
And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will: desist, (thou art discern'd,
And toil'st in vain,) nor me in vain molest.

478. *What I foretold thee, &c.*—]
Ver. 374. of this Book;

—— yet remember
WHAT I FORETELL THEE; * * * * *
* * * * * * * if I read aught in Heaven,
Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrow and labors, opposition, hate
Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death;——

478. —————— *many a hard assay*]
Thus, Book i. 263.;

—— that my way must lie
Through MANY A HARD ASSAY,——

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage, reply'd.
Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;
Of the Messiah I had heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length,
Announc'd by Gabriel, with the first I knew,
And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flock to the Baptist, I, among the rest,
(Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from Heaven

500. *Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,*
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;]

That Satan should seriously address our Lord as "Virgin-born," *because* he entertained doubts whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton observes from Bp. Pearson, in a subsequent note, "is not so far above the production "of all mankind as to place our Lord in that "singular eminence, which must be attributed to "*the only-begotten Son of God.*" But it must be recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the person declared to be the Son of God was really the Messiah: to acknowledge therefore that he was beyond all dispute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to admit in some degree the point in question. And however "Virgin-born" might not be supposed to ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiahship, still it could never be used in an address to our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man." "Son of David," single and by itself, was an expression that Satan might be expected to use, when, characterising our Lord as a mere human being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the Son of God, born in a miraculous manner of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should be.—"Virgin-born" then must be considered as intended to be highly sarcastic. It is an epithet of the most pointed derision; resembling the HAIL KING OF THE JEWS, *and they smote him with their hands.* It is that species of blasphemous insult, which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend, who at the opening of the speech is described "swoln with rage."

502. *Of the Messiah I had heard foretold*]

All the editions read *have heard. Had* seems absolutely requisite.

Heard

Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God; which bears no single sense.
The Son of God I also am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation stands;
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declar'd:
Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy:
Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
To understand my adversary, who
And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent;
By parl or composition, truce or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can:
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation, as a rock
Of adamant, and, as a centre, firm;

528. ——— *this waste wild;*]
And Eden rais'd in THE WASTE WILDERNESS.
B. i. 7.

529. *By parl,*—]
Thus in PARADISE LOST, vi. 296.;
They ended PARL,———
And Shakespeare, HAMLET, Act I. Sc. 1.;
So frown'd he once when, in an angry PARL,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice,——

533. *Proof against all temptation, as a rock*
Of adamant,—]
——— frock of mail
ADAMANTEAN PROOF,——
SAMS. AGONIST. 134.

To

To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honors, riches, kingdoms, glory
Have been before contemn'd, and may again.
Therefore, to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
Another method I must now begin.
So saying he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippogrif, bore through the air sublime,
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain,
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
The holy city, lifted high her towers,

538. ——— *what more thou art than man,*
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,]

See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 106. "We "must find yet a more peculiar ground of our "Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which "belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he "may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only* "*begotten Son*. For although to be born of a "virgin be in itself miraculous, yet is it not so far "above the production of all mankind, as to place "him in that singular eminence, which must be "attributed to the *only-begotten*. We read of "*Adam the Son of God* as well as *Seth the Son of* "*Adam*: (Luke, iii. 38.) and surely the framing "Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend "the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause "so great a distance, as we must believe, between "the first and second Adam." *Calton.*

541. ——————————— *without wing*
Of hippogrif,—]

Here Milton designed a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. An *hippogrif* is an imaginary creature, part like an horse, and part like a gryphon. See Orlando Furioso, Cant. iv.;

Only the beast he rode was not of art,
But gotten of a griffeth and a mare,
And like a griffeth had the former part,
As wings and head, and claws that hideous are,
And passing strength and force, and vent'rous heart,
But all the rest may with a horse compare.
Such beasts as these the hills of Ryfee yield,
Though in these parts they have been seen but seeld.

HARRINGTON. St. 18.

Ariosto frequently makes use of this creature to convey his heroes from place to place. *Newton.*

Æschylus in his PROMETHEUS, Ver. 282, makes Oceanus travel on a *winged steed.*

545. *The holy city,*—]

Jerusalem is frequently so called in the Old Testament. It is also called the *holy city* by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel for the use of the Jewish converts; but by him only of the four Evangelists. *Then the Devil taketh him up into* THE HOLY CITY, *and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple*, &c. Mat. iv. 5. *See* also, Mat. xxvii. 53.

Dr. Townson having observed, that "St. Mat-"thew alone, of all the Evangelists, ascribes those "titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had "been distinguished by the prophets and sacred "historians, and was known among the neighbour-

"ing

And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires:
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God; and added thus in scorn.

" ing nations," thus accounts for this difference between him and the other Evangelists, on the supposition that St. Matthew was, as he has generally been supposed to be, the earliest writer of the four.—" After some years the word of God, being " received by multitudes in various parts of the " world, did as it were sanctify other cities; while " Jerusalem, by rancorous opposition to the truth, " and sanguinary persecution of it, more and more " declined in the esteem of the believers. They " acknowledged the title and character which she " claimed by ancient prescription, when St. Mat-" thew wrote; but between the publication of his " gospel and the next, they were taught to transfer " the idea of the holy city to a worthier object."

Townson's DISCOURSES, Disc. iv. S. 3.

545. ——— *lifted high her towers,*]

The towers of Jerusalem are frequently mentioned in scripture; it is said that—*Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall.* 2. Chron. xxvi. 9.—And, when *Hezekiah* fortified Jerusalem against *Senacherib, he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up* TO THE TOWERS. 2. Chron. xxxii. 5.—The numerous towers of the *city of God* are also referred to by the Psalmist; *Walk about Zion, and go round about her, and* TELL THE TOWERS THEREOF.

547. ——— *far off appearing like a mount*
Of Alabaster,—]

——— it was A ROCK
OF ALABASTER, pil'd up to the clouds
CONSPICUOUS FAR,———
PARADISE LOST, iv. 543.

549. *There, on the highest pinnacle, he set*
The Son of God;—]

He has chosen to follow the order observed by St. Luke, in placing this Temptation last, because if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reasoning, which is observed in the course of the other Temptations. *Thyer.*

In the gospel account of the Temptation, no discovery is made of the incarnation; and this grand mystery is as little known to the Tempter at the end, as at the beginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be closed with a full discovery of it. There are *three* circumstances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the gospels. 1. The critics have not been able to ascertain what the πτερυγιον or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon: but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle. 2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the gospels, the last only is or could be suggested. 3. In the gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alledged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there) must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God.* But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God.* *Calton.*

Bp. Pearce supposes what is in the gospel called πτερυγιον, and commonly translated *pinnacle,* to have been

THERE stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee, and highest plac'd; highest is best:
Now shew thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God,
For it is written, "He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."
To whom thus Jesus: Also it is written,
"Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said, and stood:

been rather *a wing of the temple*, a flat part of the roof of one of its courts; probably on that side where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley on the outside was the deepest. Josephus, (ANTIQUIT. XV. 11. 5.,) says, "whereas the valley "was so deep that a man could scarcely see the "bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of so vast "a height, that if a man looked from the roof of "it, his head would grow giddy, and his sight not "be able to reach from that height to the bottom "of the valley."——Eusebius, (HIST. ECCLESIAST. ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegesippus of the death of James the Apostle, in which it is said that the Scribes and Pharisees brought him επι το ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ του ναου, up to *this elevated point* of the temple, and cast him down from thence.

554. *Now shew thy progeny;*—]

The immediate term *progeny* is probably from Virgil's POLLIO;

Jam nova PROGENIES cœlo demittitur alto.
7.

or from a subsequent verse,

Clara Dei SOBOLES, magnum Jovis incrementum.

The general tenor of the thought is from St. Mat. xxvii. 39. 40. *And they that passed by him reviled him wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save thyself.* IF THOU BE THE SON OF GOD, COME DOWN FROM THE CROSS.

556. *For it is written, "He will give command*
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."]

This scripture, as referred to both by St. Matthew and St. Luke in their account of the Temptation, is in *Psalm* xci. 11. 12. *For he shall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways; they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.*

560. ——— *also it is written,*
"Tempt not the Lord thy God."—]

Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God. Deuteron. vi. 16.

561. *"Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said, and stood:*]

Here is what we may call after Aristotle the αναγνωρισις, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle shews it to be so; which is otherwise impertinently introduced, and against the rule,

Nec

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.
As when earth's son Antæus, (to compare
Small things with greatest,) in Irassa strove

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.——

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed before. 2. There is a connection between Christ's *saying* and *standing*, which demonstrates that he *stood*, in proof of something he had *said*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord thy God*, as alledged in the gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want of such an attestation: but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter's attack upon Christ; it was for this end therefore that he stood. *Calton.*

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman's exposition. I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written, Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the same sense in which they were spoken in the gospels; because I would not make the poem to differ from the gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter sets our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down, as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the gospels, *It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, tacitly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said, i. e.* he gave this reason for not casting himself down, *and stood.* His *standing* properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required: *Now shew thy progeny.* His *standing* convinces Satan. His *standing* is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's *fall;* and the grand contrast is formed between the *standing* of the one, and the *fall* of the other

—— He said, and STOOD:
But Satan, smitten with amazement, FELL.

and afterwards, Ver. 571.;

FELL whence he stood to see his victor fall.
Newton.

561. ———— *He said, and stood:*]

This is in the manner of Homer;

Ητοι ὁ γ' ως ειπων, κατ' αρ' εζετο,———
IL. vii. 354

He spoke and sat,——
Pope.

563. ——— *earth's son Antæus,—*]

This simile in the person of the poet is amazingly fine. *Warburton.*

Antæus was supposed to be the son of Neptune and Tellus.

Thus Statius, THEBAID. vi. 893.;

—— Herculeis pressum sic fama lacertis
TERRIGENAM sudasse Libyn———

And Silius Italicus, iii. 40.;

Nec levior vinci Libycæ TELLURIS ALUMNUS
Matre super,———

563. ———— *(to compare*
Small things with greatest,)—]

This is the third time Milton has imitated Virgil's

—— sic parvis componere magna solebam.
ECL. i. 24.

See PARADISE LOST, ii. 921. x. 306.

Some such mode of qualifying common similies is necessary to a poet writing on divine subjects.

564. ———— *in Irassa*—]

Irassa is a place in Libya, mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 158. εστι δε τῳ χωρῳ τουτῳ ουνομα Ιρασα, and from him by Stephanus Byzant, who says, Ἰρασα, τοπος Λιβυης, εις ὁν μετηγαγον Βατιδαι οἱ Λιβυες, ὡς Ἡροδοτος,—where Berkelius notes, "Hujus urbis "quoque meminit Pindarus." Pyth. ix. sed *duplici σ* scribitur:

With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, still rose, 565
Receiving from his mother earth new strength,

Οἱοι Λιβυσσας αμ-
φι γυναικῶ εδαν
Ἱρασσαι πρῶ πολιν Ανται-
ου, μετα καλλικομοι
μναστηρες αγακλεα κηραν.

Ad quem locum sic scribit Scholiastes: Ἱρασσα πολις Λιβυης, ἡν ωκησεν Ανταιῶ, ὑφ' ὁ καλαισας Ἡρακλει, ἐκεινῶ γαρ διαλλασσει τοις χρινοις, ὁν και ανειλεν Ἡρακλης. Pindarus nomen urbis genere fœm. protulit, quod Schol. alio loco numero multitudinis & genere neut. effert: Εἰσι γαρ φασιν, ὁτι ὁ απο Ηρακλεους καταγονιςθεις Ανταιῶ, Ἱρασσευς ην, απο Ἱρασσων των εν τη Τριτωνιδι λιμνη, ὡς φησι Φερεκυδης. From whence we may observe, that in Herodotus and Stephanus, *Irasa* is the name of a place, in Pindar and his Scholiast, the name of a town: that the name is *Irasa* in Herodotus, *Hirasa* in Stephanus, (though perhaps it should be *Irasa*, not Ἱρασα, there) *Irassa* in Pindar and his Scholiast: that the Scholiast says, *Antæus* dwelt at *Irassa*, not he who wrestled with *Hercules*, but one later than him; which, if true, makes against Milton: that he afterwards adds, that according to the opinion of some, the *Antæus* whom *Hercules* overcame was Ἱρασσευς, απο Ἱρασσων, which Berkelius takes to be the genitive of τα Ἱρασσα, though it may be of αἱ Ἱρασσαι. *Jortin.*

Antæus dwelt at the city *Irassa*, according to Pindar. But it was not there that he wrestled with *Hercules*, but at *Lixos*, according to Pliny; "Lixos vel fabulosissime antiquis narrata. Ibi regia "Antæi, certamenque cum Hercule." NAT. HIST. Lib. v. Cap. 1. *Meadowcourt.*

564. ——————————— *strove*]

To strive is a frequent scriptural term for any violent personal contest: *see* Genes. xxvi. 20.—Exodus. ii. 13.—2 Sam. xiv. 6.—Acts. vii. 26.

565. *With Jove's Alcides,*—]

There were so many Hercules in the Grecian mythology and history, that it was necessary to specify when the principal Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was meant. Thus Cicero, DE NAT. DEOR. L. iii. 16. "Quanquam quem "potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sane velim; "plures enim nobis tradunt ii, qui interiores scru-"tantur et reconditas literas; antiquissimum JOVE "NATUM."—Varro says there were forty-three Hercules.—It may be observed that, though *Hercules* the son of Jupiter is introduced with propriety, the son of Jupiter by Alcmena had no right to be called *Alcides*, this being the proper name of the son of Amphitryon, whose father was *Alcæus*. —And yet Virgil also refers to *Alcides* as the *Son of Jove*;

——— Quid Thesea, magnum
Quid memorem ALCIDEM? et mî GENUS AB JOVE SUMMO.

ÆN. vi. 123.

The name *Alcides*, it should however be noticed, has sometimes been considered as derived from αλκη *robur*; in which sense it was also applied to Minerva, Liv. L. xlii. C. 51.

565. ——————— *and, oft foil'd, still rose,*]

Thus in Tasso, where the Soldan Solyman is slain by Rinaldo, the resistance he had before made is compared to that of Antæus, in his contest with Hercules;

Poi che 'l Soldan, che spesso in lunga guerra,
Quasi novello Anteo, cadde e risorse
Piu fero ogn' hora, al fin calco la terra
Per giacer sempre———

L. xx. Stanz. 108.

Now when the Soldan in these battles past,
Who, Antheus like, oft fell, rose oft again
Ever more fierce, more fell, fell down at last
To lie for ever,———

Fairfax.

566. *Receiving from his mother earth new strength,*]

Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere VIRES
TERRA SUI FÆTUS, quod cum tetigere parentem,
Jam defuncta vigent RENOVATO ROBORE membra.

Lucan. iv. 598.

Fresh

Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
Throttled at length in the air, expir'd and fell;
So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride,
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall:
And as that Theban monster, that propos'd
Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not devour'd,
That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep;
So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought,

572. *And as that Theban monster, &c.*—]
The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Œdipus, threw herself into the sea. Statius, THEB. i. 66.

—— Si Sphingos iniquæ
Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvi.
Newton.

The same poet refers also to the *falling of the Sphinx from the Ismenian steep*, when her riddle was solved by Œdipus;

—— dum Cadmus arat? dum VICTA CADIT SPHYNX?
THEBAID. xi. 490.

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (PHŒNISS. 813.) αγριον τερας, the "MONSTER of the moun-"tain!" She was supposed to have posted herself on the mountain Phicius, at no great distance from Thebes. Apollodor. L. iii. C. v. 8. She is termed by Lycophron, Σφικειον τερας, (Ver. 1465.,) where Heyne suggests the reading Φικειον τερας, *the monster of the mountain Phicius.*

572. —— *that Theban monster that propos'd*
Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not devour'd,
That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep;]
Milton seems here to have had Apollodorus's account of the Sphinx in his mind; at least there is a great coincidence of expression in the mythologist and the poet.—Apollodorus says the Sphinx *proposed her riddle* to the Thebans, ΠΡΟΥΤΕΙΝΕ τοις Θηβαιοις, and that, every time they *failed of finding it out*, she seized one of them, *and devoured him*, επ' αν δε ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΝ, αρπασας ενα ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΡΩΣΚΕ, that Œdipus, upon hearing it, solved it, Οιδιπους δε ακουσας ΕΛΥΣΕΝ,—whereupon *she cast* HERSELF *headlong* from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΡΡΙΨΕΝ απο της ακροπολεως—; which last words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, *a malâ manu insertum*, as the mountain Phicius towards Onchestos, (Pausan. ix. 26.), was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the same time he observes that she was supposed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in search of prey. (Euripid. PHŒNISS. 815. 816.)—As Phicius was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might be termed the *Ismenian steep*, from the river Ismenus, which ran by Thebes; ο γαρ Ασωπος, και Ὁ ΙΣΜΗΝΟΣ δια τυ πεδιυ ρευσι τυ προ των Θηβων. Strabo. ix. p. 408. —*Ismenus* is thus frequently used by the Latin poets for *Theban.*

(Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,)
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell; and strait a fiery globe
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft

581. *So Satan fell; and strait &c.*—]

Thus in G. Fletcher's CHRIST'S TRIUMPH ON EARTH, where Presumption is personified, and represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord;

> But, when she saw her speech prevailed naught,
> Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor;
> But him the Angels on their feathers caught,
> And to an airy mountain nimbly bore.
>
> Stanz. xxxviii.

581. ——— *and strait a fiery globe*
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans &c.—]

There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in. *Thyer.*

So Psyche was carried down from the rock by zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery bank, and there entertained with invisible music. See Apuleius, Lib. iv. *Richardson.*

Mr. Richardson might have added that Psyche was also entertained with a banquet ministered by Spirits. The passages from Apuleius, (at the end of the FOURTH Book of the METAMORPHOSES, and the beginning of the FIFTH,) are well worth citing.

" Psychem autem paventem ac trepidam, et in
" ipso scopuli vertice deflentem, mitis aura molliter
" spirantis Zephyri, vibratis hinc inde laciniis et
" reflato sinu sensim levatam, suo tranquillo spiritu
" vehens paulatim per devexa rupis excelsæ, vallis
" subditæ florentis cespitis gremio leniter delapsam
" reclinat." ———

—" Et illico vini nectarei eduliorumque variorum
" fercula copiosa, nullo serviente, sed tantum spiritu
" quodam impulsa, subministrantur. Nec quem-
" quam tamen illa videre poterat, sed verba tantum
" audiebat excidentia et solas voces famulas ha-
" bebat. Post opimas dapes quidam intro cessit, et
" cantavit invisus; et alius citharam pulsavit, quæ
" non videbatur, nec ipse. Tunc modulatæ mul-
" titudinis conferta vox aures ejus affertur; ut
" quamvis hominum nemo pareret, chorum tamen
" esse pateret."

583. *Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft*
From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;]

This description reminds me of an Assumption of the Virgin, by Guido, in St. Ambrosio's Church at Genoa; only the motion of the whole groupe there is ascending.—If it is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a subject for one.

583. *Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft*]

The grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. *Him*, according to the common construction of language, certainly must refer to Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunderstood; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem so eminently beautiful.

583 ——— *vans*—]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, ii. 927, speaking of Satan;

——— his sail-broad VANS
He spreads for flight,———

And

From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;
Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelic quires

And Tasso;

Indi spiega al gran volo i VANNI aurati;
GIERUSAL. LIBERAT. Canto ix. St. 60.

585. ——————— *through the blithe air;*]

Blithe air is similar to *buxom air*, PARADISE LOST, ii. 842. V. 270.——But I conceive it to have a further meaning, *cheerful*, or *pleased with its burthen*; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the PARADISE LOST, describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake; when the *dusky* air is *loaded* with his weight.

Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on THE DUSKY AIR,
THAT FELT UNUSUAL WEIGHT,——
i. 225.

586. *Then, in a flowery valley, set him down*
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink,]

We may compare the description of the Feast of the Angels, PARADISE LOST, v. 636.;

ON FLOWERS REPOS'D, and WITH FRESH FLOWERETS CROWN'D,
They eat, they drink, and, in communion sweet,
Quaff immortality and joy,————

Their camp also extends
By living streams AMONG THE TREES OF LIFE.
652.

587. ——————— *and set before him spread*
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelic quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
Over Temptation and the Tempter proud.]

Here is much resemblance to a stanza of Giles Fletcher:

But to their Lord now musing in his thought
A HEAVENLY VOLLEY OF LIGHT ANGELS FLEW,
And from his father him A BANQUET BROUGHT
THROUGH THE FINE ELEMENT, for well they knew
After his lenten fast HE HUNGRY GREW;
And, AS HE FED, the HOLY QUIRES COMBINE
TO SING A HYMN OF THE CELESTIAL TRINE.
CHRIST'S TRIUMPH ON EARTH, Stanz. 61.

593. ——————— *angelic quires*
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory &c.—]

As Milton in his PARADISE LOST had represented the Angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel Angels; so here again with the same propriety they are described celebrating his success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work

Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
Over Temptation and the Tempter proud.
TRUE image of the Father; whether thron'd
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, inshrin'd
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,

work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetic decorum. *Thyer.*

596. *True image of the Father; &c.*—]

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.

All the poems that ever were written must yield, even PARADISE LOST must yield, to the REGAINED in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terror, on this full proof of his being that very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter. *Calton.*

"True image of the Father" is from *Hebrews*, i. 8.—*Who being the brightness of his glory, and the* EXPRESS IMAGE *of his person, &c* ——Thus also, PARADISE LOST, iii. 384.

Begotten Son! DIVINE SIMILITUDE!——

596. ———————— *whether thron'd*
In the bosom of bliss,—]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, iii. 238., the Son of God says to the Father;

——— I, for his sake, will leave
THY BOSOM, and this glory next to thee;——

And the Father, in reply, Ver. 305.;

Because thou hast, though THRON'D IN HIGHEST BLISS
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all to save
A world from utter loss,———

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, and

INTO HIS BLISSFUL BOSOM reassum'd
In glory as of old;———
PARADISE LOST, x. 225.

597. ———————— *light of light*
Conceiving,—]

From the Nicene Creed.

598. ———————— *inshrin'd*
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,]

St. John, in his Gospel, (C. i. 14.) says, Και ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο, και ΕΣΚΗΝΩΣΕΝ εν ημιν,—which, literally translated, is *the word was made* FLESH, *and* TABERNACLED *among us.* St. Paul, (2 Cor. C. v. Ver. 1.,) terms the body or the "human "form" *our earthly house of* THIS TABERNACLE. ——ἡ επιγειος ἡμων οικια ΤΟΥ ΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ.—Thus also our Author, in his unfinished Ode, THE PASSION;

He sovran Priest, stooping his regal head,
That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
Poor FLESHLY TABERNACLE entered, ——

And in his Latin Poem, *On the Death of Felton, Bishop of Ely*, he speaks of

Animasque MOLE CARNEA reconditas.

Seneca has the expression, "Deum IN HUMANO "CORPORE HOSPITANTEM." EPIST. xxxi. But it is only a strong way of expressing the same sentiment, as in EPIST. lxxiii., and in other parts of his writings; "Nulla sine Deo mens bona."

Wandering

Wandering the wilderness; whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
The Son of God, with God-like force indued
Against the attempter of thy Father's throne,
And thief of Paradise! Him long of old
Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast
With all his army; now thou hast aveng'd
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.
He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke:
For, though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
A fairer Paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,

600. ——————— *whatever place,*
Habit, or state, or motion,—]

Probably not without allusion to Horace, EP. I. xvii. 23.;

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.

Newton.

604. *And thief of Paradise;*—]

Thus, PARADISE LOST, iv. 192, where Satan first enters *Paradise*;

So clomb this FIRST GRAND THIEF into God's fold;

605. *Thou didst debel,*—]

Virgil, ÆN. vi. 853.;

——— DEBELLARE superbos.

And Ibid, v. 730.;

——— gens dura atque aspera cultu
DEBELLANDA tibi Latio est;———

607. *Supplanted*—]

This is in the sense of *supplantatus* in Latin; *overcome in wrestling*, or *having his heels tripped up*.——Thus Seneca, EPIST. xiii.——"qui SUPPLANTATUS adversarium toto tulit corpore."

611. ——————— *his snares are broke:*]

Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; THE SNARE IS BROKEN, *and we are delivered.* Psalm, cxxiv. 7.

613. *A fairer Paradise is founded now*
For Adam and his chosen sons,—]

——— then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A PARADISE WITHIN THEE HAPPIER FAR;——
PARADISE LOST, xii. 585.

A Saviour,

A Saviour, art come down to re-install,
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.
But thou, infernal Serpent, shalt not long
Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star,
Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound,)
By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
No triumph: in all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: he, all unarm'd,

619. ——— *like an autumnal star,*]

——— swift as A SHOOTING STAR
IN AUTUMN thwarts the night, when vapours fir'd
Impress the air,———

PARADISE LOST, iv. 556.

Ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινῳ ἐναλιγκιος &c.

Homer. IL. v. Ver. 5.

Possibly Satan is here compared to an *autumnal star*, on account of the mischiefs that autumnal stars, and Sirius in particular, were supposed to produce to mankind. See ILIAD, x. 26, &c. and ÆNEID. x. 272.—Milton had before compared the Arch-Fiend to a comet, that

from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war;———

PARADISE LOST, ii. 710.

620. *Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven,*—]

I beheld SATAN AS LIGHTNING FALL FROM HEAVEN. Luke. x. 18.

620. ——— *trod down*
Under his feet:—]

And the God of peace shall BRUISE SATAN UNDER YOUR FEET. Romans, xvi. 20.; where the marginal reading for *bruise* is *tread*. From whence in the PARADISE LOST, x. 190

Whom he shall TREAD at last UNDER OUR FEET.

624. ——— *in all her gates*—]

THE GATES OF HELL *shall not prevail against it;* Mat. xvi. 18.

624. ——— *Abaddon*—]

The name of the Angel of the bottomless pit, Rev. ix. 11.; here applied to the bottomless pit itself. *Newton.*

625. *Thy bold attempt.*—]

Thus in this Book, Ver. 180.;

——— now more accurs'd
FOR THIS ATTEMPT, BOLDER THAN THAT ON EVE,
And more blasphemous,———

626. ——— *all unarm'd,*]

In Vida's CHRISTIAD, i. 192., Satan describes himself having been completely foiled and defeated by our Saviour thus *all unarm'd;*

——— semper me reppulit ipse,
NON ARMIS ULLIS FRETUS, non viribus usus;

But

Shall chace thee, with the terror of his voice,
From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail Son of the most high, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work
Now enter; and begin to save mankind.

But *all unarm'd* seems here to be an intended contrast to that very fine description in PARADISE LOST, of the Messiah completely armed, ascending "the chariot of paternal Deity" to accomplish the victory over the rebel Angels, and to drive them out of Heaven;

He, in celestial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended; at his right hand Victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow,
And quiver with three bolted thunder stor'd,
And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
Of smoke, and bickering flames, and sparkles dire.
vi. 760.

The same sort of contrast we may also observe in the preceding brief relation of the refreshment, Ver. 587., ministered by Angels to our blessed Lord, and the very copious and embellished description of the luxurious banquet offered to him by the Tempter, in the SECOND Book of this poem.

628. *From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,*]

The δαιμονιζομενοι, or *demoniacs* of the gospel, are constantly rendered in our version POSSESSED *with a devil.*—And, *Revelat.* xviii. 2. Babylon is described *the* HABITATION OF DEVILS, *and the* HOLD OF EVERY FOUL SPIRIT.

629. *Thee and thy legions;*—]

My name is LEGION; *for we are many.* Mark, v. 9.—& Luke, viii. 30.

629. ——— *yelling they shall fly,*
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.]

——— *there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way.— And behold they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God?* ART THOU COME HITHER TO TORMENT US BEFORE THE TIME?—*And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding.—So the devils* BESOUGHT HIM, SAYING, IF THOU CAST US OUT, SUFFER US TO GO AWAY INTO THE HERD OF SWINE.—*And he said unto them, go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine.* Mat. viii. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.

631. *Lest he command them down into the deep,*
Bound,—]

And I saw an Angel come down from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.—And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and BOUND HIM *a thousand years, and* CAST HIM INTO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT. Revelat. xx. 1. 2. 3.

634. *Queller of Satan! &c.*—]

——— who shall QUELL
THE ADVERSARY SERPENT, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
PARADISE LOST, xii. 311.

THUS they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd,
Brought on his way with joy; he, unobserv'd,
Home to his mother's house private return'd *.

635. ——— *and begin to save mankind.*]

In the FIRST Book of this Poem, our Lord is represented,

Musing and much revolving in his breast,
How best the mighty work he might BEGIN
OF SAVIOUR TO MANKIND,——
183.

636. ——————— *our Saviour meek,*]

—— *Learn of me, for I am* MEEK, *and lowly of heart.* Mat. xi. 29.

638. ——————— *he, unobserv'd,*
Home to his mother's house private return'd.]

A striking contrast, in the delineation of circumstances in a certain degree similar by great poets, strongly points out to us their recollection of the prior description, for the purpose of adopting a *manner* totally different, but calculated to produce no less effect *sui generis*. I have already noticed an instance or two in the conclusion of this Book.

This very unadorned account of our Lord's return from his present victory recalls, in this respect, to our minds that sublime passage in the PARADISE LOST, where the Messiah returns triumphant from the expulsion of the Rebel Angels:

Sole victor from the expulsion of his foes
Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc'd; and, as they went
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord; to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father thron'd
On high; who into glory him receiv'd,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss!
PARADISE LOST, vi. 880.

* It has been observed of almost all the great epic poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the ÆNEID, and the twelve last of the ODYSSEY, are inferior to the preceding parts of those poems. In the PARADISE LOST the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Bp. Newton, do the two last books of the ILIAD. "With "the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline:" and, though he admits the Angel's shewing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Mr. Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the PARADISE LOST, observes that, though *these* were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as *unequal parts* of it.—Perhaps the two concluding books of the PARADISE LOST might be defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Mr. Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epic poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.—This last book of the PARADISE REGAINED is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have before supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.——It has been remarked that there is not a single simile in the FIRST Iliad: neither do we meet with one in the three first Books of the PARADISE REGAINED. In the beginning of this FOURTH Book the poet introduces an *Homeric* cluster of similies; which seems to mark an intention of bestowing more poetical decoration on the conclusion of the poem, than on the preceding parts of it.—They who talk of our Author's genius being in the

the decline when he wrote his second poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry prosaic composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetic decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta senescens*, than a want of it. The FIRST book of the PARADISE LOST abounds in similies, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem. But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the PARADISE REGAINED, as Longinus has said of the ODYSSEY, that it is the *epilogue* of the preceding poem, still the design and conduct of it is as different, as that of the GEORGICS from the ÆNEID. The PARADISE REGAINED has something of the *didactic* character; it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has also many positive precepts every where interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence "of composition," which, as Lord Monboddo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the Ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this book the argument of the poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears (Ver. 1.) hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprize. The desperate folly, and vain pertinacity of this conduct are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated (Ver. 10. to Ver. 25) by three apposite similies, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the Temptation being thus resumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain (Ver. 25.) and shews to him Italy; the situation of which the poet marks with singular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Apennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates (Ver. 34.) the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now (Ver. 44.) becomes the speaker, and, in an admirably descriptive speech, points out more particularly the magnificent public and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendor and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which (Ver. 63.) their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and (Ver. 67.) in the numerous ambassadors that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperor. These are two pictures of the most highly-finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

> Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
> Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
> Lictors and rods the ensigns of their power,
> Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;

And

> —— embassies from regions far remote,
> In various habits, on the Appian road,
> Or on the Emilian; some from farthest south,
> Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
> Meroe, Nilotic isle; and, more to west,
> The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea;
> From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;
> From India and the golden Chersonese,
> And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
> Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreath'd; &c.

Having observed (Ver. 81.) that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding book, and (Ver. 85.) that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly drawn description (Ver. 90. to Ver. 97.) of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shews how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers (Ver. 103. to Ver. 109.) to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply (Ver. 110.) scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendor and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (possibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and (Ver. 132.) briefly to sum up those vices and misconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall of the Roman power.————The next object, which our Author had in view in his proposed display of heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less intoxicating kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy. But he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each. The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech (Ver. 146.) marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy

All monarchies besides throughout the world.

The Fiend hereupon urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion, which he had not before shewed, endeavours (Ver. 255.) to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshipping him. To this our Saviour (Ver. 171.) answers in a speech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan (Ver. 196.) a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. The transition (Ver. 212.) to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superior knowledge, and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy for which the most polished part of the heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so eminent. This leads to his VIEW OF ATHENS, (Ver. 234.) which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blasphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The Tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes (Ver. 244.) the Hierophant of the scene, which he describes, as he shews it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and places of learned resort, (Ver. 244.) is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators and philosophers (Ver. 254. to 281.) is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply (Ver. 286.) is no less admirable; particularly where he displays (Ver. 293. to 321.) the fallacy of the heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews (Ver. 331. to 363.) with

with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *eloge* on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter (Ver. 368.) is one of those master-pieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetic brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superior to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes (Ver. 394. &c.) our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded:—how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!——Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage,—of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!! ——The dialogue which ensues, (Ver. 451. to 540.) is worthy of this book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan (Ver. 500.) is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now "swoln with rage" at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: the general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to the catastrophe of the poem.——The Tempter (Ver. 541.) conveys our blessed Lord to the temple at Jerusalem; where the description of the holy city and of the temple is pleasingly drawn. Satan has now little to say; he brings the question to a decisive point, in which any persuasion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail; he therefore speaks in his own undisguised person and character, and his language accordingly (Ver. 551.) is that of scornful insult. The result of the trial is given (Ver. 561.) with the utmost brevity; and its consequences are admirably painted. The despair and fall of Satan, with its successive illustrations (Ver. 562. to Ver. 580.), have all the boldness of Salvator Rosa; while the Angels (Ver. 581.) supporting our Lord,

> As on a floating couch through the blithe air,

is a sweetly pleasing and highly finished picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreshment ministered to our Lord by the Angels (Ver. 587.) is an intended and striking contrast to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the poem. The Angelic Hymn (Ver. 596.), which concludes the Book, is at once poetical and scriptural: we may justly apply to it, and to this whole poem, an observation respecting our Author, from the pen of *one*, whose penetrating genius, fine taste, and early acquaintance with the more ancient treasures of English poetry, eminently qualified him, had he lived, duly to have discharged that task, which has fallen into very inadequate hands. "To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the "same cup," says Mr. Headley, "was reserved for the hand of "Milton; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with those of Parnassus." *Biographical Sketches*, prefixed to Headley's SELECT BEAUTIES OF ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY. *Art.* F. QUARLES.

That I have thus, in the conclusion of each Book, presumed, in a retrospective view, to point out the various beauties, with which, according to my apprehension, they severally abound, may require some apology to the reader; especially as it may be objected, that to point out particular passages as beautiful, without

without ascertaining the distinct species and proportion of their beauty, is doing very little in the province of criticism. This objection has been particularly made to Mr. Addison's *critique* on the PARADISE LOST, in the Spectator. But, however those papers may have no great pretensions, strictly speaking, to be termed *critical*, still it is allowed that they were highly acceptable to the public, and that they contributed, more than any thing else, to make the PARADISE LOST universally known and read.——If this Edition of the PARADISE REGAINED should have in any degree a similar effect, I shall be most amply gratified; as I cannot but conceive that, if this Poem were more generally known, and more attentively read, it could not fail of being more generally admired, so as to find that place, among the works of its great Author, which it now seldom obtains.——To advance it from the obscurity, in which it has been shrouded, to that unprejudiced attention, which I persuade myself it so well merits from the Public, is my earnest, and indeed my sole wish. I neither pretend to fame, nor assume merit in having attempted that, which I sincerely wish had been undertaken by some abler hand; and must content myself with having indicated what I conceive to be most valuable ore, leaving to persons of superior abilities and acquirements, and of more health and application, the task of critically assaying it.

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CORRECTIONS

CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

BRITISH MUSEUM

CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

P. 1. *Ver.* 1. *I, who ere while the happy garden sung*
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind
By one man's firm obedience &c.—]

We may here compare part of a stanza of Giles Fletcher;

A MAN was first the author of our fall,
A MAN is now the author of our rise,
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
And the old serpent with a new device
Hath found a way himself for to beguile;
So he, that ALL MEN tangled in his wile,
Is now by ONE MAN caught, beguil'd with his own guile.
CHRIST'S TRIUMPH OVER DEATH, STANZ. XV.

P. 4. *Ver.* 12. ———————— *else mute,*]

Mute is used in a similar manner in the PARADISE LOST;

In Athens, or free Rome, while eloquence
Flourish'd, since MUTE,————
ix. 671.

P. 13. *Ver.* 97. *Not force but well-couch'd fraud,*]

Thus the same speaker, on a similar subject, in Crashaw's fine unfinished poem, from the SOSPETTO D'HERODE of Marino;

What FORCE cannot effect FRAUD shall devise.
STANZ. XXXI.

P. 21. *Ver.* 171. *Add to the passages in this note, cited by Mr. Calton from Milton's other poems;*

When such music sweet
Their hearts and ears did greet,
As never was BY MORTAL FINGER STROOK,
DIVINELY WARBLED VOICE
ANSWERING THE STRINGED NOISE,
As all their souls in blissful rapture took:
HYMN ON THE NATIVITY, STANZ. IX.

P. 30. *Ver.* 257. ———— *the vested priest,*]

—— purâque in VESTE sacerdos.
Virg. Æn. xii. 169.

Came VESTED ALL IN WHITE,———
Milton's Sonnet, ON HIS DECEASED WIFE, Ver. 8.

P. 34. *Add to the note respecting Bp. Newton's observations on the versification of our author;*

The late Dr. Foster in his very learned publication ON ACCENT &c. is likewise too fond of measuring English verse by classic rules: but I conceive he has been particularly unfortunate in the examples which he has adduced in support of his system; at least in those he has taken from Milton. Lord Monboddo very justly condemns him, (ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE, Part. II. Book ii. C. 5.,) as *carrying the matter too far.* Dr. Blair appears to have sufficiently laid down, in a very short compass, the principles of English rythm: indeed to those, who would push their researches any further, I feel inclined to say, with Lady Macbeth to her husband,

Consider it not so deeply!

"Our English heroic verse is of what may be "called an Iambic structure; that is, composed "of a succession nearly alternate of syllables, not "short and long, but unaccented and accented. "With regard to the place of these accents, how-"ever, some liberty is admitted, for the sake of "variety. Very often, though not always, the line "begins with an unaccented syllable; and some-"times, in the course of it, two unaccented syl-"lables follow each other. But, in general, there "are either four or five accented syllables in each "line. The number of syllables is ten, unless "where an Alexandrine verse is occasionally ad-"mitted. In verses not Alexandrine, instances "occur where the line appears to have more than "the limited number. But in such instances it "will be found, that some of the liquid syllables "are so slurred in pronouncing, as to bring the "verse, with respect to its effect upon the ear, "within the usual bounds." Blair's Lectures, Vol. III. Lect. 38.

P. 35. *Add to the note on Ver.* 310;

Giles Fletcher, in his CHRIST'S TRIUMPH ON EARTH, has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts in the wilderness.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *
Whom to devour the beasts did make pretence;
But him their salvage thirst did nought appall;
Though weapons none he had for his defence;

What arms for innocence but innocence?
For when they saw their Lord's bright cognizance
Shine in his face, soon did they disadvance,
And some unto him kneel, and some about him dance.

Down fell the lordly lion's angry mood,
And he himself fell down in congees low;
Bidding him welcome to his wasteful wood.
Sometimes he kiss'd the grass where he did go,
And, as to wash his feet he well did know,
With fawning tongue he lick'd away the dust;
And every one would nearest to him thrust;
And every one, with new, forgot his former lust.

Unmindful of himself, to mind his Lord,
The lamb stood gazing by the tiger's side,
As though between them they had made accord,
And on the lion's back the goat did ride,
Forgetful of the roughness of the hide.
If he stood still, their eyes upon him baited;
If walk'd, they all in order on him waited;
And, when he slept, they as his watch themselves conceited.

Giles Fletcher, (who was the younger brother of Phinias Fletcher, author of the *Purple Island*, and cousin of John Fletcher the dramatic poet,) published his CHRIST'S VICTORY AND TRIUMPH in 1610. It is in four parts, the *first* of which he entitles *Christ's Victory in Heaven*, and the three others, *Christ's Triumph on Earth*—*Christ's Triumph over Death*—and *Christ's Triumph after Death*.—The subject of the *second* Part, is our Lord's Temptation; but it is not often that we can trace our author to any part of it. The whole poem has great merit, considering the age in which it was written.

P. 36. *Add to note on Ver.* 312.;

Worm is also used for serpent, or snake, by Crashaw, in his SOSPETTO D'HERODE;

So said her richest snake, which to her wrist
For a beseeming bracelet she had ty'd,
(A special WORM it was as ever kiss'd
The foamy lips of Cerberus,) she apply'd
To the king's heart,———

STANZ. lix.

P. 37. *Note on Ver.* 319. *Add to the passages already cited from Shakespeare, the following speech of Achilles to Hector, in the* FOURTH *Act of* TROILUS AND CRESSIDA;

Now Hector I have fed mine eyes on thee,
I have with exact view PERUS'D thee, Hector, &c.—

It may be observed that the verb *lego* is used in the same sense of *accurately to observe* by Latin authors. Thus Virgil, ÆN. vi. 754.;

Et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine possit
Adversos LEGERE, et venientum discere vultus.

P. 43. *Add to note on Ver.* 377.;

Satan, (PARADISE LOST, i. 97.,) describes himself

—— chang'd in outward LUSTRE,——

P. 45. *Ver.* 407. ——— *compos'd of lies,*
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;]

In the PARADISE LOST, (B. iv. 949.,) Satan is called

——— a LIAR trac'd,———

P. 46. *Ver.* 423. —— *or pleasure to do ill excites;*]

Satan, in the PARADISE LOST, in his first conference with his infernal "compeer", says

—— of this be sure,
To do aught good never will be our task;
But ever TO DO ILL OUR SOLE DELIGHT;

i. 159.

P. 53. *Ver.* 497. *He added not, and Satan bowing low*
His gray dissimulation,—]

This said he turn'd; AND SATAN BOWING LOW,
As to superior spirits is wont in Heaven,——

PARADISE LOST, iii. 736.

BOOK II.

P. 69. *Add to note on Ver.* 65.;

And thus our author in his Address to his Native Language, in the VACATION EXERCISE;

Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
Thy service in some graver subject use;
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou CLOTHE MY FANCY IN FIT SOUND.

P. 78. *Ver.* 162. *Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.*]

Thus Drummond, in his lviiith SONNET, addressed to a bracelet of his Mistress's hair;

Hair, fatal present, which first caus'd my woes,
When loose ye hang like Danae's golden rain,
Sweet NETS which sweetly DO ALL HEARTS ENCHAIN.

It should be observed that the line, already cited in the note from Milton's *first* Elegy, referred also to beautiful hair;

——— tremulosque

——— tremulosque capillos,
Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit amor.

P. 79. *Ver.* 167. *At will the manliest resolutest breast.*]

Thus Euripides in a Chorus of the HIPPOLITUS, addressed to Venus;

Συ ταν θεων ακαμπτον φρενα
Και βροτων αγεις Κυπρι,———
1282.

'Tis thine, O Venus, to controul
Of Gods and men the stubborn soul.

Note on Ver. 169; for *Astrate* read *Astarte.*

P. 80. *Ver.* 176. ——— *attractive grace,*]

I pleas'd, and with ATTRACTIVE GRACES won;
PARADISE LOST, ii. 762.

For softness she and sweet ATTRACTIVE GRACE,
IBID. iv. 298.

Ver. 178. ——— *lusty crew,*]

Milton seems to have given *lusty* in the sense of *libidinosus.*

P. 82. *Note, on Ver.* 188, *last line but one;* for *admirably relieve* &c. read—*at once relieve* &c.

P. 85. *Add to the second note on Ver.* 216;

Bentley might have cited Shakespeare as well as Spenser;

Upon his BROW shame is asham'd to sit,
For 'tis a THRONE where honour may be crown'd
Sole monarch of the universal earth.
ROMEO AND JULIET, Act III. Sc. 2.

Add to note on Ver. 222;

But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, DE ART. AMAND. L. i. Ver. 627.;

LAUDATAS ostentat avis Junonia pennas;
SI TACITUS SPECTES, ILLA RECONDIT OPES.

Ovid has somewhere likewise,

—— LAUDATO pavone superbior,———

P. 90. *Note on Ver.* 267; *dele* the inverted commas before *proceroque.*

P. 91. *In Bp. Newton's note on Ver.* 279. instead of *Sc.* 7. read *Sc.* 5.;—and *add to the note;*

Browne, in his BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS, had termed the lark the *herald of day;*

The mounting lark, DAY'S HERALD, got on wing,
Bidding each bird choose out his bough and sing.
B. i. S. 3.

2d column of notes. The last note should have been marked Ver. 280.; and the text at the head of it should have begun,

——— *to descry*
The morn's approach &c.

To the passages, there cited from Chaucer and Spenser, may also be added a beautiful description of "the lark high-towering and greeting the morn "with his song," from another of our early poets;

The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
WITH SWEET SALUTES AWAKES THE DROWSY LIGHT;
THE EARTH SHE LEFT, AND UP TO HEAVEN IS FLED;
There chants her Maker's praises out of sight.
Fletcher's PURPLE ISLAND, Cant. ix. Stanz. 2.

And again, Stanz. 3.;

Heark how the larks GIVE WELCOME TO THE DAY,
Tempering their sweetest notes unto thy lay;
Up then, thou loved swain; why dost thou longer stay?

P. 92. In the passage cited from Dryden, in the conclusion of the note which begins in p. 91., for *morning-lark,* read *mounting-lark.*

P. 101. *Add to the note on Ver.* 344.;

Browne in his BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS, (Book ii. Song 3.,) speaks of

——— cullis mix'd with AMBERGREASE,

as a highly luxurious dish.

P. 104. *In note on Ver.* 354. after "with a sort "of sliding motion." *insert,*

Smooth-sliding without step,———
PARADISE LOST, viii. 302.

P. 111. *Ver.* 385. ——— *Angels ministrant*
Array'd in glory,—]

And all about the courtly stable
BRIGHT-HARNESS'D ANGELS SIT IN ORDER SERVICEABLE.
HYMN ON THE NATIVITY, *last* Stanza.

And COMUS, 453.;

So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,
That, when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand LIVERIED ANGELS LACKY HER.

P. 114. *Add to note on Ver.* 420.;

This mode of acquiring and losing popularity is well described by Lucan;

——— pacique intentus agebat
Quoque modo vanos populi conciret amores,
Gnarus et IRARUM CAUSAS, ET SUMMA FAVORIS
ANNONA MOMENTA TRAHI.——
iii. 555.

Ver. 426. *Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,*
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,]

Thus Euripides, PHÆNISS. 453.;

Τα χρηματ' ανθρωποισι τιμιωτατα,
Δυναμιν τε πλειστην των εν ανθρωποις εχει.

Of human honours riches are the source,
And rule with power supreme the tribes of men.
Wodhull.

P. 116. *Ver.* 447. ——————— *so poor*
Who could do mighty things,—]

Virgil thus describes Fabricius,

——— PARVOQUE POTENTEM
Fabricium,———
ÆN. vi. 844.

P. 119. *Ver.* 462. *When on his shoulder each man's burden lies;*]

Ælian, (VAR. HIST. ii. 20.,) records an observation of Antigonus to his son;—Ουκ οισθα, ω παι, την βασιλειαν ημων ενδοξον ειναι δουλευειν;—"Know'st "thou not, my son, that to be a king is to be a "splendid slave?"——

See also Euripides, ION. 633.——

P. 120. *Add to Bp. Newton's note on Ver.* 466;

Thus also Seneca, the tragic poet;

Mens REGNUM bona possidet.
THYEST. 380.

BOOK III.

P. 129. *Ver.* 5. ——— *collecting all his serpent wiles,*
With soothing words &c.—]

In the SAMSON AGONISTES, Ver. 402., Dalilah is described

——— mustering all her wiles,
With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,
Tongue-batteries, &c.

P. 131. *Ver.* 25. ——————— *glory the reward*
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits,—]

——— FAX MENTIS HONESTÆ
GLORIA,———
Sil. Ital. vi. 332.

P. 134. *Ver.* 56. *Of whom to be disprais'd is no small praise,*]

We meet with the same noble contempt of low unfounded popularity, similarly expressed, in his DEFENSIO SECUNDA.———"Laudant vituperant "sine delectu, sine discrimine, judicio, aut modo, "* * * * * * * * * * * * * "* * * * * congestis undique et verborum "et rerum tot discoloribus ineptiis, tamque putidis, "ut LAUDATUM LONGE PRÆSTAT SILERI, ET "PRAVO QUOD AIUNT VIVERE NASO, QUAM SIC "LAUDARI; VITUPERATUS VERO QUI SIT, HAUD "MEDIOCRI SANE HONORI SIBI DUCAT, SE TAM "ABSURDIS, TAM STOLIDIS NEBULONIBUS DIS-"PLICERE."—P. 337. Ed. 4to. Lond. 1753.

Cicero had said in his Oration, IN PISONEM, C. 29.,——"quæ quidem laudatio hominis tur-"pissimi mihi ipsi pœne erat turpis."

Add to the note on Ver. 57.;

Martial has the immediate expression;

——— sed tu sub principe duro,
Temporibusque malis, AUSUS ES ESSE BONUS.
L. xii. EP. 6.

P. 138. *Ver.* 91. ——— *by wisdom eminent,*
By patience, temperance,—]

Sallust, in his Oration AD CAIUM CÆSAREM, speaking of the true means of glory, places it "in "labore, patientiâ, bonis præceptis, et factis fortibus "exercitando."

Add to note on Ver. 96.;

Xenophon in his Apology, speaking of the death of Socrates, says "Such was the wisdom and such "the magnanimity of this man, that I ever must "remember, and remembering, ever regret and re-"spect him; and if in future times any who are "friends to virtue and the virtuous shall boast ac-"quaintance with a better or more useful member "of society, than was Socrates; I hesitate not to "pronounce

" pronounce them the first and most blest of mor-
" tals."—Εγω μεν δη καταγνοων τε ανδρος την τε σοφιαν και την γενναιοτητα, ουτε μη μεμνησθαι δυναμαι αυτε, ουτε μεμνημενος ουκ επαινειν· ει δε τις των αρετης εφιεμενων ωφελιμωτερω τινι Σωκρατες συνεγενετω, εκεινον εγω τον ανδρα αξιομακαριστοτατον νομιζω.

Xenophont. Apolog. *ad finem.*

P. 142. *At the end of note on Ver.* 138; for *Ranulphus de Glanvillus* read *Radulphus de Glanvilla.*

P. 153. *Add to the note on Ver.* 261;

Virgil has

TURRIGERÆ que urbes,——
ÆN. x. 253.

And Ovid,

—— TURRITIS incingere MÆNIBUS urbes,
3. AMOR. viii. 48.

—— TURRITI muri——
3. EPIST. EX PONT. vi. 40.

but I do not know where to point out the exact epithet *turritæ* as joined with *urbes.*

P. 159. *Ver.* 298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king &c.—]

Thus in the PHÆNISSÆ of Euripides, where Antigone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian army, her conductor says to her,——

—— ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ Δ' ΕΒΗΣ,
Κινυμενον γαρ συγχανει Πελασγικον
Στρατευμα,———
106.

——— just in time
You mount the turret; the Pelasgian host
Is now in motion,———
Wodhull.

P. 162. *Add to the first note on Ver.* 311;

or rather, ÆN. xii. 121.;

Procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque PLENIS
AGMINA SE FUNDUNT PORTIS; hinc Troius omnis,
Tyrrhenusque ruit variis exercitus armis:
Haud secus instructi ferro, quam si aspera Martis
Pugna vocat.

P. 163. *Add to the citations from Pindar and Nonnus in note on Ver.* 324;

We may also compare Homer, IL. xii. 156.;

—— νιφαδες δ' ως τε πιπτον εραζε,
Ας τ' ανεμος ζαης, νεφεα σκιοεντα δονησας,
Ταρφειαι καταχευεν επι χθονι πεπυκασι,
Ως των εκ χειρων βελε' ερρεον ημεν Αχαιων
Ηδε και εκ Τρωων,———

As when sharp Boreas blows abroad, and brings
The dreary winter on his frozen wings,
Beneath the low-hung clouds the sheets of snow
Descend and whiten all the fields below,
So fast the darts on either army pour,
So down the rampires rolls the rocky shower,
Heavy and thick resounds the batter'd shields,
And the deaf echo rattles round the fields.
Pope.

P. 164. *Add to note on Ver.* 326;

I have since met with a passage more immediately parallel in Euripides; who literally describes his field *all brass.* It is in the same scene of the PHÆNISSÆ, in which I have just before noted a coincidence of expression with Ver. 298.——

—— ΚΑΤΑΧΑΛΚΟΝ ΑΙΠΑΝ
ΠΕΔΙΟΝ ΑΣΤΡΑΠΤΕΙ,———
110.

—— how gleams
With brazen armour the whole field around!
Wodhull.

Gleaming brown we may perhaps trace to Homer's description of Idomeneus and Meriones going out to battle,

—— κεκορυθμενοι ΑΙΘΟΠΙ ΧΑΛΚΩ,
IL. xiii. 305.

which Mr. Pope, possibly with this passage of Milton in his mind, translates,

And their BRIGHT arms shot HORROR o'er the plain.

We may also compare a passage in Cowley's *Paraphrase of Isaiah,* C. xxxiv.

I see the sword of God brandish'd above,
And from it streams A DISMAL RAY;——

Note on Ver. 327.; for IL. iv. 374. *read,* IL. iv. 274.; and for Νιφος πεζων *read* Νεφος πεζων.

Ver. 328. ——— *all in steel*—]

Claudian has

FERRATIQUE viri——
De vi. CONS. HONOR. 571.

And Homer, (IL. xiii. 192.,) describes Hector unwounded by the well-directed javelin of Ajax, because he was so completely arm'd;

——— ΠΑΣ

——— ΠΑΣ δ' αρα ΧΑΛΚΩ
ΣΜΕΡΔΑΛΕΩ ΚΕΚΑΛΥΦΘ'———

Secure in mail, and sheath'd in shining steel.
Pope.

To the note on Ver. 329. *add;*

Pliny speaks of the "turrigeros elephantorum "humeros." L. xi. C. 12.——

I find the verb *to indorse* used in a sense exactly similar by Ben Jonson, in an EPIGRAM TO WILLIAM EARL OF NEWCASTLE, upon his horsemanship;

When first, my Lord, I saw you back your horse,
Provoke his mettle and command his force
To all the uses of the field and race,
Methought I read the ancient arts of Thrace,
And saw a Centaur, past those tales of Greece;
So seem'd your horse and you both of a piece!
You shew'd like Perseus upon Pegasus,
Or Castor mounted upon Cyllarus;——
Nay so your seat his beauties did ENDORSE,
As I began to wish myself a horse.———

P. 169. *Note on Ver.* 394. *line* 17.; instead of *goes nearer to vindicate*, read *goes near to vindicate, &c.*

BOOK IV.

P. 184. *Add to note on Ver.* 15.;

Μυια is used in the same sense in Greek.—Antiphanes, a writer of the Middle Comedy, in his Προγονοι, makes a parasite describe himself among other circumstances, as "a fly that, though unin-"vited, will not fail to thrust himself in to an "entertainment."

Δειπνειν ακλητος, ΜΥΙΑ,———

Note on Ver. 17.; for μελλισσαι read μελισσαι.

P. 185. *Add to note on Ver.* 18.;

As we may Virgil himself to Homer, IL. xv. 618.;

——— ηυτε πετρη
Ηλιβατος, μεγαλη, πολιης αλος εγγυς εουσα,
Ητε μενει λιγεων ανεμων λαιψηρα κελευθα,
Κυματα τε τροφοεντα, τα τε προσερευγεται αυτην.

So some tall rock o'erhangs the hoary main,
By winds assail'd, by billows beat in vain,
Unmov'd it hears above the tempests blow,
And sees the watery mountains break below.
Pope.

P. 191. *Note on Ver.* 50.; in the passage cited from Claudian, for *delutra* read *delubra.*

P. 193. *Add to note on Ver.* 60.; see Homer, IL. xxiv. 191. 192.

Αυτος δ' ες θαλαμον κατεβησετο κηωεντα,
ΚΕΔΡΙΝΟΝ υψοροφον,———

Then pass'd the monarch to his bridal room,
Where cedar-beams the lofty roofs perfume.
Pope.

Ver. 63. *Correct the punctuation thus;*

Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state, &c.

P. 194. *Ver.* 76. *Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreath'd;*]

I have been told that a truly respectable prelate, whose taste and literary acquirements are of the first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the most picturesque lines that he had ever met with in poetry: almost every word conveys a distinct idea, and generally one of great effect.

Prudentius has a passage not dissimilar;

——— decolor Indus,
Tempora pinnatis redimitus nigra sagittis.
HAMARTIGEN. 499.

P. 196. *Note on Ver.* 93.; for *to describe the arcanæ libidines*, read *to notice the* &c.

P. 199. *Note on Ver.* 17.; read *Cæcubi.*

P. 200. *Ver.* 118. ——— *how they quaff in gold,*]

O let them IN THEIR GOLD QUAFF dropsies down!
P. Fletcher, PURPLE ISLAND, i. 27.

P. 203. *Note on Ver.* 136.; To the passages cited in this note, marking the shameful conduct of the Roman governors in their provinces, may be added one from a speech of C. Gracchus, (Aulus Gellius, L. xv. C. 12.) where, speaking of his return from Sardinia, he says, "When I went from Rome "I carried my bags full of money; I brought "them from the province empty. While others, "who have carried out casks filled with wine, "have brought them home filled with gold."

We may also refer to the description given by the Locrians, (Livy, L. xxix. 17.,) of Pleminius the Roman legate, when they accused him of oppression to the senate; "In hoc legato vestro nec hominis "quicquam est, patres conscripti, præter figuram "et

" et speciem; neque Romani civis præter habitum " vestitumque et sonum linguæ Latinæ. Pestis et " bellua immanis, quales fretum, quondam, quo " ab Sicilia dividimur ad perniciem navigantium " circumsedisse, fabulæ ferunt."

P. 204. *Note on Ver.* 139.; To the passage from Columella, marking the effeminacy of the Romans in his time, may be added one from Seneca;—— " Torpent ecce ingenia desidiosæ juventutis. Can- " tandi saltandique nunc obscæna studia EFFEMI- " NATOS TENENT." PROOEM CONTROVERS.

P. 213. *Ver.* 240. *Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts*
And eloquence, native to famous wits &c.]

Roger Ascham, (English Works, published at London, 1771. p. 235.,) speaking of the great authors produced by the city of Athens in philosophy, eloquence, history, and poetry, adds, " in " comparison of whom, let Italian, Latin itself, " Spanish, French, Dutch and English bring forth " their learning and recite their authors, Cicero " alone excepted, and one or two more in Latin, " they be all patched up clouts and rags, in com- " parison of fair-woven broad cloths; and truly, " if there be any good in them, it is either learned, " borrowed, or stolen, from those WORTHY WITS " OF ATHENS."

P. 217. *Add to the second note on Ver.* 246.;

Shakespeare, in his fifty-first SONNET, describes the nightingale ceasing to sing, as the summer advances;

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

As Philomel in summer's front doth sing,
And stops his pipe in growth of riper days,
Not that the summer is less pleasant now,
Than when her mournful hymns did hush the night.

The last verse of which passage, it may be observed, has a beautiful resemblance to Milton's PENSEROSO, Ver. 56.;

Less Philomel will deign a song
In her sweetest, saddest, plight,
Smoothing the rugged brow of night.

P. 224. *Add to the second note on Ver.* 268.;

Longinus, (C. xxxii.,) speaking of the superior power of Demosthenes in oratory to the public speakers of any age, expresses himself in a similar figure of speech;—ΚΑΤΑΒΡΟΝΤΑ και ΚΑΤΑΦΕΡΕΙ τῶ απ' αιωνος ῥητορας, &c. &c.——

P. 229. *Ver.* 299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;*]

Lucian speaking of the same philosopher has a passage strikingly similar;——Αμελει Ο μεν αυτων παρηνει το παν ἡδεσθαι, και μονον τουτο εκ παντος μετιεναι.—NECYOMANT. p. 460. Ed. Reitz. Where also, see the account of the Stoics and Peripatetics, and compare with Milton's account of them here.

P. 234. *Add to note on Ver.* 329.;

But Milton most probably alluded to the sponge as used by the ancients for the purpose of blotting out any thing they had written, and did not choose to preserve.—Thus we read in Suetonius's Life of Augustus, when that emperor had attempted a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, and, finding it not likely to succeed, had laid it aside, some of his friends enquiring what was become of Ajax, he answered, " Ajacem suum IN SPONGIAM INCU- " BUISSE."—So that *worth a sponge* literally means not worth seeing the light, not worth preserving.

P. 240. *Ver.* 398. —————— *lowering night*
Her shadowy offspring,—]

Night was sometimes the parent, and darkness the *Offspring*. See Cicero, DE NATURA DEORUM, where we meet with *Tenebræ* among the progeny of *Night* and *Erebus*. —— But Milton's *Theogony* is conformable to Hyginus, who makes *Caligo*, or *Darkness*, the Mother of *Night*, *Day*, *Erebus*, and *Æther*.—See the first chapter of Hyginus, DE FABULIS.

P. 246. *Note on Ver.* 426.; *in the passage cited from Chaucer in the conclusion of this note, for* MORNING GRAY, *read* MORROW GRAY.

Morrow gray was a common expression with our early poets for the break of day;

The MORROWE GRAY no sooner had begun
To spread his light e'en peeping in our eyes,
Than he is up, and to his worke grunne, &c.
Sackville, INDUCT. Stanz. 40.

Ver. 427. —————— *in amice gray,*
Who with her radiant finger &c.—]

Browne describes the first appearance of morning in a manner not dissimilar, and with a beautiful effect;

It chanc'd, one MORN, CLAD IN A ROBE OF GRAY
And BLUSHING OFT as rising to betray,
Entic'd this lovely maiden from her bed, &c.——
BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS, B. ii. S. 4.

P. 247. *In note on Ver.* 430, *add immediately after the passage cited from Prudentius;*—

Mr. Warton referring to this passage, (in a note on our Author's ODE ON THE NATIVITY,) observes that some commentators, not easily to be found, and whom he does not specify, prove the superstition to have been of much higher antiquity.—— We find it two hundred years before Prudentius, in Philostratus's Life of Apollonius Tyanœus.—There the ghost of Achilles, that had appeared to Apollonius, vanishes at once, in the midst of a conversation, *with a slight flash of lightning*, ξυν ασραπη μετρια, as soon as *the cocks began to crow*, και γαρ δη και αλεκτρυονες ηδη ωδης ηπλοντο. Philostrat. VIT. APOLLON. L. iv. C. 16.

The circumstance of ghosts disappearing at day-break is referred to by several of the Latin poets. Thus Claudian, respecting the ghost of Theodosius;

Dixit, et afflatus vicino sole refugit.

And, in Propertius, the account given by ghosts of themselves is,

Nocte vagæ ferimur; nox clausas liberat umbras,
Errat et abjecta Cerberas ipse fera.
Luce jubent leges Lethæa ad stagna reverti, &c.
L. iv. El. 7.

P. 249. *Note on Ver.* 454.; after *produced in the natural world* read *by the fall of man.*—Likewise add to the note;

In Shakespeare's PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE, Pericles in a storm at sea, says,

Courage enough; I do not fear the FLAW;
It hath done to me the worst,——
Act III. Sc. 1.

And HAMLET, Act V. Sc. 1.;

Should patch a wall to expel the winter's FLAW,—

Add to note on Ver. 455;

Ætna is termed by Pindar, 1st. PYTH. ODE.

—— χιων ουρανεια,——

which Mr. West translates

The pillard prop of heaven,——

P. 259. *Ver.* 567. —— *fiercer grapple join'd,*]

The GRAPPLING vigour and rough face of war.
Shakespeare, K. JOHN, Act III. Sc. 1.

P. 262. *Add to note on Ver.* 598.;

Σκηνος, *tabernacle*, is frequently used by profane as well as scriptural writers, to signify *the mortal body*. Thus Longinus, Sect. xxxii.——ανθρωπινα ΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ, the *human tabernacle*. And Plato terms the body, Γηινον ΣΚΗΝΟΣ, the *earthly tabernacle*; and, as cited by Æschines the Socratic, having said that "we are a soul, an immortal being shut up in "a mortal case, adds το δε ΣΚΗΝΟΣ τυτο προς κακα περιηρμοσεν ἡ φυσις, *but this tabernacle nature hath fitted to the evil.*—*See* Parkhurst's Lexicon, *Voc* Σκηνος—also σκηνοω, and σκηνωμα.

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FINIS.